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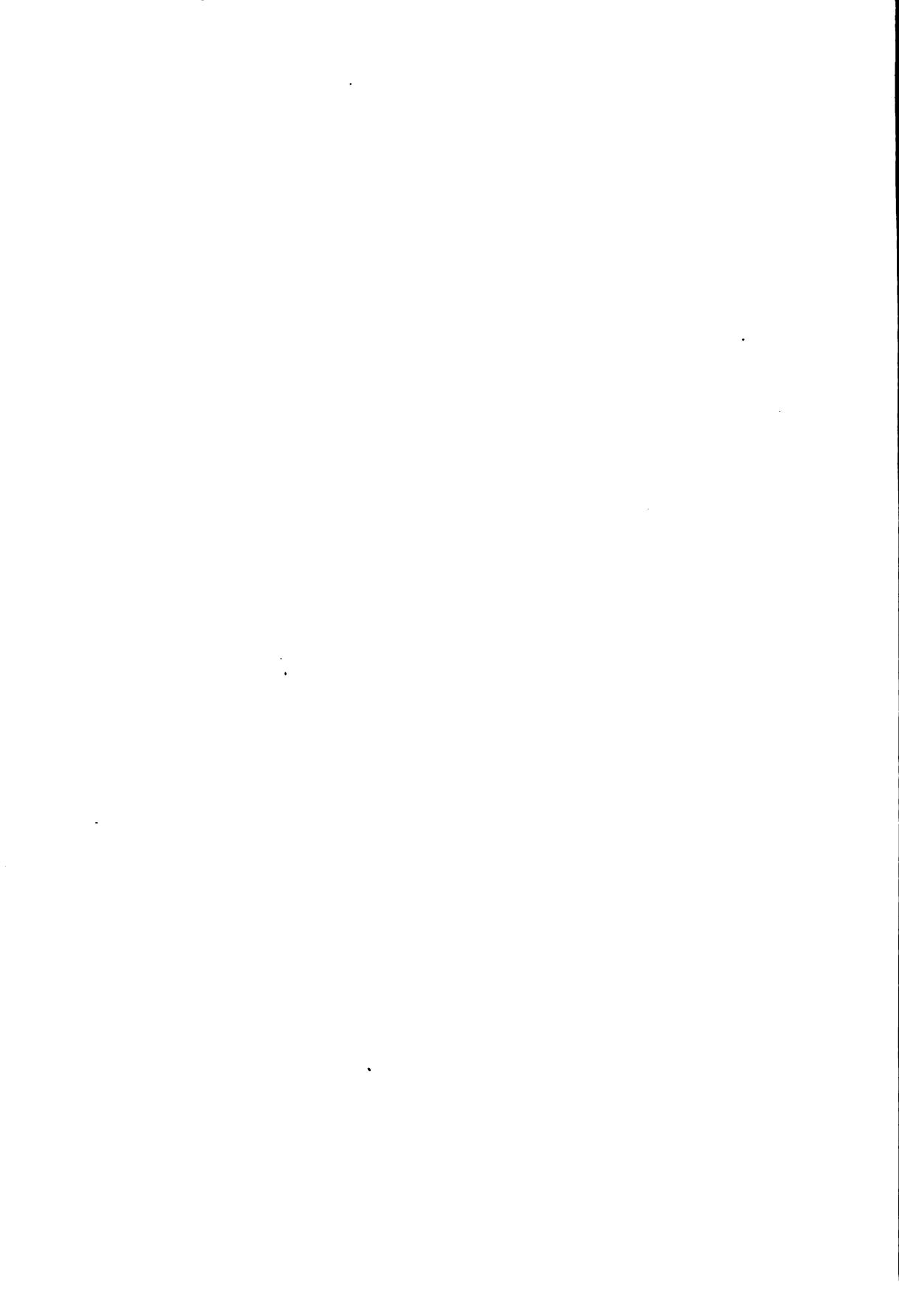
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**PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

VOLUME XIII

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS
THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT RICHMOND, VA.
DECEMBER 27-28, 1918

VOLUME XIII

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Published March 1919

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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Wilson
2-28-33

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A PRIMARY CULTURE FOR DEMOCRACY

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One who looks even a little beneath the surface of things may see that there is no question more timely than that of culture, and none which has more need of fresh and fundamental conceptions. It is by no means a question merely of the decoration of life, or of personal enjoyment; it involves the whole matter of developing large-minded members for that strong and good democracy which we hope we are building up. Without such members such a democracy can never exist, and culture is essential to the power and efficiency, as well as to the beauty, of the social whole.

We may all agree, I imagine, that culture means the development of the human and social, as distinct from the technical, side of life. Our recent growth, so far at least as it is realized in our institutions, has been mainly technical, the creation of an abundant economic system and a marvelous body of natural science, neither of them achievements of a sort to center attention upon what is broadly human.

It is true that along with these has come a growth of humane sentiment and aspiration, of a spirit Christian and democratic in the largest sense of those words; but this remains in great part vague and ineffectual. To give it clearness and power is one of the aims of the culture we need.

There is also, I am sure, a growing *demand* for culture. In the course of the greatest struggle of history, which is also a struggle for righteous ideals, the people everywhere have learned that the social order needs reconstruction, and that the popular will has power to transform it, as has actually been seen in molding nations to efficiency in war. All this gives rise, especially in the young, to large and radical thinking, which permeates the armies, the press, the labor unions, and other popular associations; and

among the first results of this thinking is a demand for a new sort of liberal education, through which all members of the coming order shall get a wider outlook, a higher and clearer idealism, and so be prepared to create that free, righteous, and joyful system of life to which they aspire.

Indeed our democracy, in spite of its supposed materialism, has long had at heart the ideal of culture. Culture has been a god that we somewhat ignorantly worshiped. We are not satisfied with beholding the multiplication of material things, nor even with the hope of greater justice in their distribution; we want joy, beauty, hope, higher thoughts, a larger life, a fuller participation in the great human and divine whole in which we find ourselves. Even those popular movements which formulate their aims in material terms are not really materialistic but get their strongest appeal from the belief that these aims are the condition of a fuller spiritual life.

Another reason for turning our thoughts to culture is that the economic outlook demands it. We are apparently entering upon a period of cheap, standardized production upon an enormous scale, which will multiply commodities and perhaps increase leisure but will make little demand upon the intelligence of the majority of producers and offer no scope for mental discipline. Work is becoming less than ever competent to educate the worker, and if we are to escape the torpor, frivolity, and social irresponsibility engendered by this condition, we must offset it by a social and moral culture acquired in the schools and in the community life.

Our culture must be a function of our situation as a whole. Just as the arts, like literature, painting, and sculpture, cannot be merely traditional but must spring fresh and creative from the living spirit of the time, so also must culture, which is likewise an expression of the general life. It may be contrasted with, perhaps opposed to, the apparent trend of things; but if so it is only because it is rooted in a deeper trend. If it does not function in the whole it is nothing.

I am in sympathy with those who cling to the great humanistic traditions of the past. There can be no real culture that is alto-

gether new; it can only be a fresh growth out of old stems; but it must be that; it must be new in the sense that it is wholly reanimated by the spirit of our own time. Any attempt to impose an old culture upon us merely because the educated class cherish it, or because it can be supported by general arguments having no reference to our actual needs, must fail. Through control of institutions the classicist, or the scientist, or the religionist may for a time force the forms of an old learning upon a new generation; but before long all that does not vigorously function in the life of the day will slough off and be forgotten.

Certainly no culture can be real for us that is not democratic. This does not mean, however, that it must be superficial, or commonplace, or uniform. These are traits which the enemies of democracy have endeavored to fix upon it, but which do not belong to its essence. Democracy is at bottom a more humane, inclusive, and liberal organization of life, and certainly a democratic culture will be one based on large and kindly conceptions, meeting the needs of the plain people as well as of the privileged classes, and, worked out largely through the schools and other popular institutions. Because culture has in the past been inaccessible to the masses and still is so in great part, we must make it our very special business to bring it within their reach; but the idea that such a culture must lack refinement and distinction has no basis in sound theory and will be refuted as fast as we make democracy what it can and should be.

An undemocratic humanism, in our time, is not humanism at all but an academic retreat out of which no living culture can come—just as a dead-level democracy without humane depth and richness of life is not true democracy. Finer achievements get their vitality from the sympathy of a group, and an idealistic democracy, which includes a unique mingling of races, classes, and nationalities, should achieve a culture as rich in human significance as any the world has seen.

We should recognize, however, that such traditional culture as we have is not democratic for the most part, but involves the inheritance, through an upper class, of the conceptions of an outworn society. The very word "culture" is in somewhat bad odor

with people of democratic sympathies, because it suggests a parasitic leisure. Nothing could be more timely than that the plain people should take up the idea, reinterpret it from their point of view, and give it a chief place on the program of reform.

A living culture is not only an organic part of life as a whole, but it is a complex thing in itself. (It must embrace, I think, two main aspects: a common or primary culture of knowledge and sentiment diffused through the whole people, and a variety of more elaborate culture processes, informed with the common spirit but developed by small groups in diverse fields of achievement.) I mean by the former, to which I shall confine myself in this paper, such elements of culture as American children might get, in the schools or otherwise, before they have passed the age of compulsory attendance, or say sixteen years. This must supply the soil and atmosphere in which all our higher life is to grow, while the more specialized culture will give room for classical studies, sciences, philosophy, fine arts—what you will; nothing human need be lacking.

The aim of a common culture, I should say, must be a humane enlargement of the thought and spirit of the people, including especially primary social knowledge and ideals; inculcated in no merely abstract form but appealing to the imagination and assimilated with experience. The currents of such a culture will flow, in large degree, outside the channels of public guidance and formal institutions, working upon us through newspapers, popular literature, the drama, motion pictures, and the like. They will get much of their form and direction, however, from the common schools and other community institutions, and since these are within our control they call for peculiar attention.

Of the studies now pursued in our primary schools those most plainly suited to be the means of culture are language and history, because they deal directly with the larger human life; but it cannot be assumed that they are actually fulfilling the culture function. They do so in proportion as they impart the higher traditions and ideals of our country and of the world at large, awakening in boys and girls a hearty participation in this greater life.

Language studies should make the individual a member of the continuing organism of thought and enable his spirit to grow by interaction with it. For our people this means self-expression in the English language and a beginning appreciation of its literature. These studies should be disciplinary, requiring precision of understanding and expression, but they should also be joyous, for culture has no worse enemy than the sort of teaching that makes drudgery of them. Noble sentiment is of their essence, and if that is not imparted nothing worth while is.

Other languages, modern and ancient, belong to the more specialized culture, not to that of the whole people. They are essential to many kinds of higher leadership and production, and children who are believed to be destined for such functions may well begin their study in childhood; to ask more for them would be fanatical.

It might perhaps be thought that history would be a study of the humane development of mankind in the past, bringing home to our knowledge and sympathy the common life and upward struggle of the people, and so leading to an understanding of the social questions of our own day. But it is not that in any great degree at the present time, and there is little prospect that it will be in the near future. Although some teachers of history, perhaps many of them, are striving to reanimate their subject in accordance with modern social conceptions, it is my impression that this movement is only beginning, and that the study of history, as actually practiced in the schools, conduces little, if at all, to understanding of, or interest in, matters of social and economic betterment. I question whether this study can make its full contribution to culture without an almost revolutionary change in its underlying conceptions and in the training of its teachers.

The central thing in a study of the past common to all American children should no doubt be the history of our own country, conceived in a social spirit as our part in the universal struggle for humane ideals of life, political democracy and federation, economic opportunity, social freedom, and higher development of every sort. It should be easy to treat American history in this

way and to keep it in constant relation to the ideals and endeavors of our own day.

No aspect of history is better suited to the uses of culture than is the economic aspect, the age-long striving for material support, comfort, and leisure, along with the development and mutations of social classes, leading to our own problems of social justice. These are cultural because, on the one hand, they appeal to actual interest and daily observation, while, on the other, they lead directly to the most urgent questions of humane progress. One does not need to be an economic determinist to hold that here is one broad road to participation in the larger currents of life. The fact that history has slighted these things, and that men may pass as experts in it who have made no serious study of them, is itself explicable only by historical causes. Has not the pursuit of history become a kind of institution which, like many of our institutions, is still ruled by ideas impressed upon it in a former undemocratic state of society?

The very lowliness and homeliness of the daily life of the masses are one cause for its being somewhat neglected by research, and we must reckon also with the unconscious influence of an upper-class point of view unfavorable to studies that call in question the existing social order. I have sometimes fancied that our friends the historians, being for the most part accomplished men of the world, had for that reason a certain predilection for the upper circles of society, both past and present.

However this may be, it is clear that on grounds of culture every child ought to know something of the struggles of the unprivileged masses to gain a share of the opportunity and outlook achieved by a privileged few. Our middle and upper economic classes are still, for the most part, limited to a view of such matters that is both undemocratic and uncultured, and which the schools do little to correct.

It seems then that instruction in sociology and economics, of a simple and concrete kind, must be part of a universal democratic culture. How this should be related to history is perhaps an open question, but certainly the latter, as it is now understood,

is wholly inadequate. When all these studies are informed by a common spirit it may be possible to unite them.

So intimate and so animating is our relation to nature that natural science may well claim a place in any scheme for a basic humane culture. I would in fact include enough of this to impress the mind with the rule of law in nature and enable it to understand the experimental method by which man discovers this law and adapts it to his ends.

I must add that any school culture depends for its reality upon the personality of those who impart it. If the teachers and textbook writers were overflowing with those large views and sentiments that are culture, the students would invariably get them. This in turn depends somewhat upon that more adequate recognition by the public of the place of teachers as leaders and exemplars of cultures, from which intelligent selection and support would flow. The whole question is one we cannot solve by any mere change in the curriculum, but is implicated with the spirit and organization of the community.

Indeed our basic culture is likely to come quite as much from the social experiences of the school and community life as from culture studies. Culture is the larger mind that comes from the larger life, and the most direct and universal access to this is through association and co-operation with other people. No movements now going on promise more in this way than do those which aim at a livelier community spirit and expression in all the towns and neighborhoods of the land. When every locality has its center for social intercourse and discussion; its consciousness of its own past and ideals for the future; its communal music, sports, and pageants; its municipal buildings with noble architecture, painting, and sculpture; its local organization ready to take up voluntarily any responsibilities which the state or the nation may impose—then the child who learns to share in these things will not fail to get from them a social and spiritual enlargement.

The school especially can and should provide a group life, ideal, as far as possible, in its forms and spirit, participation in which will involve in the most natural way the elements of social,

moral, and even religious culture. As states of the human spirit democracy, righteousness, and faith have much in common and may be cultivated by the same means, namely by the group activities of the school, such as socialized class work, athletics, self-government, plays, and the like, into which the boys and girls eagerly put themselves, and from which they may get training for a larger life. And this larger mind should by no means be allowed to lapse with graduation but should be cherished in the reunions and festivals of the local Alma Mater.

I feel that what I have said deals only with the more immediate and perhaps the more superficial factors in the growth of a primary culture. The studies, the teachers, the social activities of the schools and the community, are all expressions of an underlying current of life which molds their character for better or worse and can only gradually be changed. It would be fatuous not to see that this current is largely unfavorable to the development of any real culture, either primary or secondary. The influence in our society which is organized and dominant is commercialism; the elements of culture are for the most part scattered, demobilized, and impotent. The very idea and spirit of it are starved and crowded out.

If we divide the sources of culture into two parts, those that derive from tradition and those that come to us more directly from participation in life, we shall find that the former especially are deficient. Perhaps the first requisite of progress is to face the fact that we are, as a people, in a state of semi-barbarism as regards participation in that heritage which comes only by familiarity with literature and the arts. And since this is lacking in the people at large, including the bulk of the educated classes, our schools, which are nothing if not an expression of the people, do not readily supply it. The wealthy and energetic men who have general control of education mean well, but their whole life-history, in most cases, has been such that words like culture, art, and literature can be little more to them than empty sounds, and whatever provision they make for them can hardly fail to be somewhat perfunctory and superficial.

I do not mean that culture is irreconcilable with commercial activities or with technical training in the schools. On the contrary, periods of commercial expansion have usually been those when arts and literature flourished most; and technical training, if moderate in its demands and enlarged by a constant sense of the social whole to which it contributes, may itself involve a most essential kind of culture. But our commercialism has been exorbitant and exclusive; and our technical training is rarely of a sort which makes the student feel his membership in the larger whole. Both must be transformed by a social spirit and philosophy before they can join hands with culture.

These are the underlying reasons for the unsatisfactory state of our schools and for the extreme difficulty of introducing any culture spirit into them. American education, on the culture side, is deadened by formalism from the first grade in the primary schools to and including the graduate departments of our universities. In spite of much sound theory and honest effort on the part of teachers the stifling gases of commercialism have passed from the general atmosphere into academic halls and devitalized almost everything having no obvious economic purpose. I doubt if there has on the whole been any progress in this way, perhaps rather a retrogression, during my own time.

When I contemplate the state of culture in our colleges I cannot wonder that it does not flourish in the elementary schools. Thus, to take only one indication, I have reason to think that serious spontaneous reading is far less common among university students than it was forty years ago. This is my own observation, confirmed by others and corroborated by the evidence of a veteran bookseller, who told me that he sold fewer books of general literature to, say, 5,000 students at the time of our conversation than he did to one-fourth of that number in the Victorian era.

I find the outlook somewhat more cheerful as regards that sort of culture which we get as a by-product of co-operation with our fellows. This is a plant which grows unintended in a free and friendly life; and I think that democracy is giving our feelings, our manners, and our social perceptions an enlargement which is

truly, in its way, a kind of culture. That consideration, helpfulness, and ready sociability which, it appears, have endeared our soldiers to the villages of France are a part of our civilization and may well prove to be the first fruits of a new sort of culture. Let us cherish and diffuse this spirit in every possible way, especially through that school and community organization of which I have spoken. It is not only a fine thing in itself but will help us to appreciate and acquire that transmitted culture, akin to it in essence, which we now so sadly lack.

On the whole, our present condition as regards a popular culture, though unsatisfactory, is not unpromising. We have energy, good-will, and a sincere though vague idealism. We may expect these to work gradually upon all departments of life, our schools, our communities, our economic institutions, and the general atmosphere of the country, slowly bringing to pass a culture which will certainly be fresh, democratic, and human, and need not be deficient in those things that have to be learned from the past.

If I have not undertaken a discussion of the diversified higher culture, it is not because I doubt that democracy can and will develop in this direction. I say again that our ideal does not allow uniformity or limitation of any kind, but calls for utmost opportunity working out in utmost richness of life. In the way of culture, as in technical training, our higher schools should offer the best that the world has achieved, and should also foster specialized culture groups to kindle and support the individual in his struggle for a larger life.

THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF WOMEN

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Education is a process in the development of human personality. Social education is the shaping of that process toward useful functioning in the social order of which that personality is a part. The social education of women, therefore, is that type of training which has for its aim both the development of the individual life and its adjustment to the needs of the social whole.

There is no special problem in the education of girls and women unless there are permanently differing social demands upon the two sexes; otherwise there would be only the need to hasten at all points the full sharing by both of all educational opportunities. There is much denial of any other need and much claim that in education, as in all other social processes, the sexes be given "human" rights, identical training, and a fair field of endeavor. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate reasons why there is still a problem in the education of women "as women," and one worthy of the attention of this body of social students.

Education, we say, is a process of personal development, but also one by which individuals are fitted for serviceableness to group life; whether the individuals concerned are thought of as "classes," or "masses," or "sexes," in varying strata of human life. Education is not now for the first time "socialized" because we now theorize upon its social function in a new way. Each group of people, in each phase of social relationship, and in each era of historic change, have sought to realize, to express, and to perpetuate, through the training of the oncoming generations, the ideals, the customs, and the institutional forms deemed by them necessary and desirable. The educative process is indeed a personal one, teacher acting upon pupil directly to secure individualized results; but it has always been socially determined both

in purpose and in method by the group "mores" and the group needs. The family has been called "the first and primitive school" but hardly with accuracy; since, although the family is the first agency to begin the educative process, what each family has demanded in loyalty and in activity from each child has been determined, since the beginning of social organization, by what the group of which that family was a part had accepted as the right and useful end of child training. The limitations of the family, therefore, in early as in later education, have been as marked as its powers, as has been well shown by Dr. Todd in his book *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*. Any special problem of differentiation of the educative process as related to sex inheres, therefore, in the historic approach of men and women to social duties and opportunities. We have inherited the fruits of a long race experience in which men and women were for the most part so separated from each other in functioning that the education of boys and of girls was made wholly unlike after sex-differentiation began, and sometimes, as in Sparta, before that period. The difference in ideal and in method of training was not, as some have said, that "boys were trained for human and socialized work" and "girls were fitted for personal and generally menial service alone." Both were trained in personal character and for social ends. The men were tied to the land, and the political order, and the family responsibility for parenthood, and some distinct personal service in behalf of the group life, as were the women. The difference, the tremendous difference, was this: that the service demanded of men, whatever their part or lot might be, was early seen to require a definite schooling for some particular vocation, demanding some measure of intellectual concentration and technical skill; while the service demanded of women was supposed to be of a nature requiring only general apprenticeship within the family life. The specialization of labor, which, as is often shown, took from that family apprenticeship of women one by one its vocational elements of manual work until the house-mother seemed to need only that general ability which can quickly and wisely use the fruits of others' expert knowledge and technical training, as surely added for men, in every division of vocational alignment, an increasing differ-

entiation of training and of labor. The reaction upon the educative process of this specialization and organization of industrial and institutional life has been distinct and far-reaching. Leaving the girls to the experiential apprenticeship of the family, even the ancient education of boys was formal and definite, having at its core the group loyalties of secret military orders, of fraternal societies, and later of guilds and labor unions. When the state was born and these divided loyalties were united in patriotic devotion to "the collectivity that owned them all," women were not counted in as citizens. When, again, the peaceful industries which women had started in their primitive Jack-at-all-trades economic service to the family and clan life needed organization into separate callings of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, and primitive means of transportation had to be perfected for interchange of products between nation and nation, women were again left out of control of the processes which man's organizing genius set in motion. Hence neither political nor industrial changes in the social order gave to popular thought any conception of the need for sending girls to school. In point of fact, as we need often to be reminded, the fine talk about an educated common people which underlies our public-school system referred for the most part to boys alone until near the middle of the nineteenth century. All that women needed to know it was believed "came by nature," like Dogberry's "reading and writing." Much of it did come by imitation and unconscious absorption, aided by the occasional better training of exceptionally able and fortunate women; but the general illiteracy of women was both a personal handicap and a social poverty. It is not true, however, as some have said, that women have been "left out of the human race" and have had to "break in" to man's more highly organized life in order to taste civilization. Men and women have stood too close in affection, girls too often "took after their fathers," the family, even under the despotic rule of men, bound all other social institutions to itself too vitally for the sexes to be wholly separated in thought and in activity. Even when most women had to make a cross instead of signing their names on official documents and could not have passed the fourth-grade examinations of a modern school, they often

became truly cultured and by reason of the very demands of family and group life upon them. The reason most women were denied formal school training so long after such denial became actively injurious to the family and group life was because the popular conviction still held that the most useful service which women could render the state did not require, would even find inimical to its best exercise, the kind of schooling which had been developed to fit boys for "a man's part in the world."

When the principle of democracy began to work in women's natures with an irrepressible yeast of revolt against longer denial of opportunity for individual achievement, and the vitally necessary and too-long-delayed "woman's rights movement" was born, its first pressure was against the closed doors of the "man-made" school. Enlightened women now demanded equal chance with men for preparation for vocations. The school they sought to enter was inherited from a past in which not only sex lines but class lines held the opportunities of higher education for a small clique. The ancient college and university did indeed lead toward vocations, but only the three "learned professions" and general training for commanding leadership in state and industrial affairs. When physical, economic, and social sciences were born the study disciplines they introduced into higher education appeared in answer to an imperious social demand that leadership should be provided in a vastly more varied range than the older civilization required. At first the leaders in the higher education of women, like all *nouveaux riche*, showed determination to prove themselves adept in the traditions of the scholastic world into which they had so recently entered, and classic curricula were strictly adhered to and all "practical" courses viewed with open distrust except those leading to the inherited professions and to teaching pushed upward toward college professorships. Happily, however, almost coincident with the entrance of women into larger educational opportunity was the broadening of that educational opportunity itself; and the marvelous growth of the state universities in the United States rapidly increased both the more varied vocational stimuli and the wider preparation for leadership now opening in our country for women as for men.

Two movements have resulted from the widening of the field of higher education, movements not yet recognized at their full social value, but already showing immense influence both upon the vocational alignment of trained women and upon the courses of study in colleges and universities. These two movements are, first, so to improve the social environment as to make average normal life more easily and generally accessible to the requirements for human well-being; and, secondly, the movement to put the social treatment, ameliorative and preventive, of abnormal or undeveloped life, under scientific direction. When it was discovered that to lose in death one baby out of every three born, to prematurely age or kill mothers in a hopeless endeavor to make good that waste, to leave the majority of the human race the helpless prey of preventable disease, poverty, feeble-mindedness, vice, and crime, was to show lack of rational social consciousness and effective social control, then it speedily became a recognized social duty to provide schools, both higher and lower in grade, which might do something to lessen ignorance and increase knowledge in the practical arts of race culture and of social organization for common human welfare. This conviction led on the one side to the introduction of courses of study in universities, colleges, normal and high, and even some elementary schools, which had bearing upon management of sanitation, food supply, housing, street control, recreation, economic reform, social engineering in politics, and kindred agencies for social betterment. It led on the other side to the attempt to make the office of the philanthropist a vocation, for which definite training and standardized compensation must be provided. So rapidly have these two elements of applied social science invaded the vocational field that today, outside of general and special teaching, they draw the majority of women seeking professional careers into work directly leading to social and personal betterment. A few women became lawyers, doctors, ministers, and now aspire to political leadership; but for the most part women are true to their sex-heritage now that they have a chance to choose and fit for their work; and the nurture of child life, the moral safeguarding of youth, the care of the aged, the weak, the wayward, and the undeveloped—these, which have been

their special tasks since society began to be rational and humane, are still their main business in the more complex situations of modern life.

When the departments of household economics were added to college courses they were hailed on one side as a needed attempt to "make the higher education fit women for wifehood and motherhood"; and on the other side they were opposed as a base concession to conservative views of woman's position, and as leading toward a lowering of standards in women's higher education. They were, and are, neither of these. The college courses in subjects related to the scientific improvement of human beings and their environment are courses leading toward new vocational specialties, which the newly outlined science of race culture demands. Women who excel in these specialties do so as paid social functionaries and are oftener unmarried than married. Nor are these studies limited to feminine students, although far more women than men choose them. The interrelation of the present social order by which a milk or a water supply has to do with "big business" and with law, and "a garbage can is a metal utensil entirely surrounded by politics," requires some knowledge of these things on the part of men, especially if they are to be "heckled" in political campaigns by women voters. There are, to be sure, now outlined in school training "departments of homemaking" intended to help individual women in their work in private homes; but such departments are generally of the nature of "extension courses." Regular college courses, especially those of four years and leading to a special degree, in household economics, as in other groups of studies, lead directly toward a vocational career, standardized and salaried, related to general social organization, and subject to the "factory" tendencies of the modern industrial order. Students in such courses graduate to take positions as expert dietitians, managers of hospitals and other public institutions, directors of laundries and restaurants, as trained nurses, assistants or directors in chemical laboratories, architects, interior decorators, landscape gardeners, and what not; all specialties essential to social progress, and all linked to family life in general but not particularly related to any one family group of one father,

one mother, and their children. They, therefore, while tending to make family life in general far more successful than of old, fit no woman surely for wifehood and motherhood; and they cannot do so unless omniscient social wisdom can tell in advance what girls will marry and have children and social control becomes despotic enough to oblige such girls to take these courses in preference to any others; or unless society returns to its old drastic compulsion for all to marry and bear active part in the race life as parents. No one seriously proposes return to an earlier social control; but Ellen Key comes near to it, except that she replaces compulsory laws with what Ward would call "attractive methods." Her argument is simple and straightforward. The most important gift women can make to society is a competent and successful motherhood. All women, *whether married or not*, should be not only permitted but encouraged to undertake and to fit for that social service. No woman should be hampered in the higher spiritual elements of her mother-office by economic dependence upon any one man; neither should she be obliged to bear the double burden of self- and child-support during her bearing and rearing of children; and hence society at large, through the state, should recognize and pay for her unique social service and secure its standardization by compulsory training and expert supervision; and all women not actively engaged in the mother-office should find their place and work in varied forms of assistance to individual mothers.

The fundamental social objection to this, or any other plan which makes socially negligible the legal marriage of mothers, is that it reduces fathers to a mere biologic necessity. There is no proof that this would be desirable. It has taken a tremendous social discipline to get man inside the family and so tie him to parental responsibility as to guarantee to children two parents instead of one. It cost the subjection of women, the legal slavery of children, the development in man of unsocial pugnaciousness and ruthless sacrifice of others' rights to the well-being of his own kin; but it has given man an ethical training in self-sacrificing, courageous, and persistent labor for the benefit of his group, and an institutional command of the resources of nature and of human

capacity, which have proved invaluable to social progress; and they have also contributed to the solidarity of the family what was most needed in its beginning to make a breakwater against sex-promiscuity and anarchic individualism. Facts indicate that it is still socially dangerous to relieve the average man from the obligations of the father-office as now understood and legally defined. Indeed the tendency in all social therapeutics is toward a more firm and constant hold upon the common run of fathers for the benefit of the children. There is, moreover, no class of social facts at command to prove that either men or women are as a rule competent to play at the same time the part of both parents; and really history does not give man such a bad showing as a father, in spite of his faults, that he can now be bowed off the stage so cavalierly! Ellen Key is right, and most thoughtful students of social needs agree with her in her contention that the mother should not be left to sole financial dependence upon any one man, even the father of her children. The hazards of marriage are too many and serious, the economic situation of the majority of wage-earners too hard and precarious, the dignity of women too necessary for a democratic order, and the requirements of a physically, mentally, and morally strong motherhood too great for such out-worn domestic arrangements. The mother-service of competent women is indeed a social function to be recognized not by fine words alone, but by some insurance protection against personal ill-treatment, overwork, or financial disaster during the child-bearing and child-rearing period. We should, however, be careful that it is not independent "maternal insurance" we urge, but rather "family insurance" for successful child nurture and education by both parents, lest we make too many children half-orphans as of old.

It seems a far cry from Ellen Key's estimate of women as socially valuable almost exclusively in their mother-office, and hence to be trained for that supremely, to the claims of some leaders of the modern feminist movement that what is now most needed is personal development of the intellectual and ethical initiative of women, and hence that the social education of girls should fiber itself wholly upon preparation for self-direction and self-support.

The latter view tends to minimize the demands of wifehood and motherhood upon women and to look for such radical changes in the family life as will make it almost if not quite as easy for women as for men to continue uninterruptedly their chosen pursuits. The two views, however, coincide in this, that they make legal marriage less socially necessary as a precedent to child-bearing, and both tend to "theoretically differentiate mating and parentage" (to use the words of Mrs. Clews Parsons) as "separable facts" and facts susceptible of vitally different treatment by law and custom; "mating" in such "theoretical differentiation" being "private and self-centered as an expression of personality," and parentage "public and socially centered" about the child and its needs. In this view the "advertisement" and "the spirit of monopoly" in sex-relationship should both be "discountenanced," we are told; while the safety and well-being of children is to be safeguarded by allowing only those to be parents who are certified by competent judges to be fit to bear children, and by requiring a contract with the state, to be made at will either by the mother, the father, or both, that the child shall be "nurtured and educated in accordance with the accepted standards of child-welfare." The privacy and freedom of sex-relationship thus advocated would indeed, as has been said, "make adultery difficult to define." It would also make prostitution, even in its most sordid and vulgar phases, impossible to abolish; and prostitution has proved of all social evils the one most inimical to social well-being.

So far in the history of the family the public pledge of fidelity of one to one in the marriage bond as basis for legal and socially privileged parenthood has worked more effectively than has anything else to secure for children an early environment of truly social culture; an environment in which the vagrant impulses of an overdeveloped sex-instinct are chastened and held in check by a sense of moral responsibility of man toward woman and woman toward man, and in which regard for the welfare of children belonging to both, and binding each to the other in all permanent and successful marriages, is a truly lasting bond of race loyalty. To propose to throw all that away for the sake of "free motherhood," or "free development of womanhood," or "free sex-relationship as

a wider expression of a richer personality" than legal marriage affords, is to offer a hypothetical somersault and not a genuine guide in the difficult task of making over the ancient family to suit modern conditions. The social education of women, and of men also, must therefore take vital cognizance of the family as a durable institution demanding permanent if changing adjustment of the individual life to its solidarity and its perfecting.

What then? Can, or should, the family claims upon husbands and wives and upon fathers and mothers be so balanced, and society be made to so supplement private care of child life, that women may pursue a chosen vocational career through all the working period on practically the same terms as men? For answer it must be admitted that we are now in the midst of a social order in which the father-office and the mother-office do differ essentially in their requirements in the vast majority of families. The father-office leads directly toward specialization and achievement in some one calling. To be a good father is, in ordinary family conditions, not so much to give constant personal attention to his children as to do something well which the world wants done and will pay for and by which he may maintain and improve the economic and social standing of his family. To "give hostages to fortune in wife and child" may, indeed often does, hamper a man's idealistic relation to his vocation and oblige him to work for money when he wants to work for fame or for higher usefulness, but it serves almost always to keep him steady to his job. For the average mother this is not the case. Where there is a family of children more than large enough to make good the parent's share in life's ongoing stream, or where physical, mental, or moral peculiarities demand special attention to one child or more, or where aged, delicate, or incompetent members of the family circle call for special consideration, or where the environment does not provide, or the income cannot pay for elaborate aids to domestic comfort from without, the average conscientious house-mother must give the best of strength and the most of time in the service of the private family for many years of life; that is to say, getting a group of children up to adult independence and saving the social whole the more intimate duties

of care of the aged and the weak, while it calls upon the man-head of the family for greater activity in his special line, calls upon the woman-head of the family for a general and personal service as a primary duty and puts any vocational specialty she has chosen in a secondary place while the family obligation is most pressing. The result of this obvious fact is that the average woman has a double choice to make when marriage offers—a choice for or against the man, and a choice for or against her vocation. In proportion as women are highly educated or industrially trained they have been pressed toward some one calling for which they can be definitely prepared and in which they may hope to rise in personal achievement and in financial compensation. On the other hand marriage and motherhood appeal to the deepest instincts of human nature; and if the man seems worth it women will generally risk vocational impediment and awkwardness of economic adjustment for the sake of a congenial mate and children of her own. But there are not enough superior men to go around; and although, as Ellen Key assures us, there are many women who would be glad to have children of their own if they could do so without being permanently bound to the men available as fathers, these are the women least likely to go against the prevailing social rules. Hence there is a real, often a poignant, difficulty of decision, and there is in consequence a social problem to openly approach. Too many women especially fitted to bear and rear children choose their work instead of marriage and maternity. That this is the fault of men more than of women is undoubtedly true. As Professor Wells has said in his *Treatment of Some Questions Concerning Higher Education of Women*, "If there were more men of spiritual insight and moral elevation more college women would wish to marry"; and we may add more superior women, whether or not college-bred, would be willing to sacrifice personal achievement for the family life. As it is, the fact that few women now have to marry as a means of support, and that so many men are not of the sort the best women want to marry, and the fact that an increasing number of women can demonstrably have more leisure and surer gratification of refined tastes through the rewards of a vocational service by not marrying, give a dangerous social drift away from marriage and maternity.

in the case of many most competent, strong, and idealistic of the sex. This is a tendency toward "race suicide" far more sinister than is a falling birth-rate in the general population. All social students know what happened to the main currents of heredity as a result of the celibacy of the religious orders of both men and women in the Middle Ages. In this, which I have ventured in another connection to call "The Age of the Spinster," we note something analogous in this voluntary withdrawal from family life of many superior women; and also, of course, but in lesser degree the bachelor proclivities of superior men. There is a by-product of immense social advantage in the case of unmarried women of trained capacity. It had to be demonstrated that society was failing to use women to the best advantage, and the "unattached women" could most easily and quickly show what women in general might be and do, and how society could use their powers more thriftily. From the Lady Abbess of old to the "three maiden aunts of Chicago," the line of gifted spinsters has made way for liberty and for personal achievement of women and so for the race uplift that waits for a stronger and nobler womanhood. As a permanent condition, however, no serious sociologist can view with satisfaction so many women of the highest type of whom it must be said:

"They are their own posterity
Their future in themselves doth lie."

What then, again? A chorus of voices led by our brilliant Mrs. Gilman assure us that all this confusion and difficulty in the adjustment of women's special work to the family needs will pass when specialization has had its perfect work and is applied with equal power of organization to the various sorts of service now demanded of the house-mother. When "the home is no one's workshop" but a place of equal rest and refreshment to both husband and wife, and better fitted to children's needs because providing for them only experts in physical, mental, and recreational care, women will not only be able to pursue their vocational way unhindered, but will be able to raise the standard of human quality by a finer and more powerful sex-selection of fathers, and the race will be speeded onward as never before. Much of the profoundest truth

inheres in this position. The age-long pretense that individual women are supported by individual men, when giving all time and strength to serving the family as house-mothers, must go. The obsolete and socially harmful conventional rules that make it "bad form" for a married woman to earn money even to hire the family washing done, but highly proper and virtuous for her to work beyond her strength in the privacy of her home at any most uncongenial task, must be shamed out of existence. The necessity of marrying "as a means of subsistence" is going fast; and the holding of women in marriage to men unfit to live with is going with it. The social backset that came when the private-property rights of man were made to legally include wives, and the terms of mating and of parentage alike fixed by men alone as the economic masters, must be overcome by hastening with vigor the day when in freedom of self-support as unmarried and in full social support as mothers all women shall be able to dictate the qualities desirable in marriage and in parenthood on a plane necessary to true race culture. Society must end the hypocritical inconsistency that puts wife-hood and motherhood on a pedestal as the ethical ideal for women, and then penalizes marriage and maternity, as in the case of woman teachers, whose vocation is nearest the family and for whose work family experience is most helpful. Above all, the democratizing of the family must go on until, in the wise words of Dr. Lucy Salmon, "the equal right of men and women to work for remuneration and the equal privilege of both to render unpaid service" shall be established, both inside and outside its limits. As aids toward that condition changes in the industrial and professional world are fast contributing. Almost daily some element of domestic work becomes a business and offers specialized labor outside the home; and this with "hour-service" of experts in nursing, teaching, play-directing, and housework releases house-mothers for permanent "careers." It must be noted, however, that these tendencies operate for urban dwellers almost exclusively; and it is still true, and in any future in sight likely to remain true, that the majority of homes are in the country and the majority of children are brought up in rural, small village, or industrially undeveloped communities. Also, it must be noted, that "substitutes" for the house-mother's

all-round service "come high," and family budgets prove that only women of creative gifts, whose work is of so personal a nature that it is a "craft," can earn enough to bring such substitutes within the usual family income, even when both parents contribute to it. The work open to the average woman is one conditioned upon the hours, the places, and the general arrangements made for men workers and leaves little chance to consider the exigencies of family life; and its wages are low for successful economic adjustments. Meanwhile individual married couples in increasing numbers are practicing ways of living which, although not generally designed for that purpose, do allow many women to work easily at specialized vocations in the man-made industrial conditions. The "no-child system" of complete "birth-control" relieves some women from the cares of motherhood but does not make all plain sailing, even in the childless married condition, for such as desire a truly monogamic union, successful and happy in proportion to its permanency and harmony of interests. For such married couples questions that concern the professional standing of either, the increased economic security of both, and their respective usefulness in the social order will surely arise, and lead almost inevitably to the subordination of the work of one to that of the other. If the wife is the superior in talent and in value as a social functionary, then it may be her work that has right of way, but it takes a noble and a flexible man and a gifted and an unselfish woman to make such an arrangement happy and useful to both.

The whole arrangement of society is on the basis of the economic leadership of the man in the marriage partnership, and continues such even in social strata where justice gives both a common purse and the finest quality of affection and comradeship makes it a negligible matter which one makes the largest contribution to the united treasury. If any married woman is exempt from all demands of motherhood, some "selective social draft" more delicate in its evaluation than we have yet evolved must indicate her right of exemption, and if marriage is to continue on anything like the present basis commonplace women cannot have all its advantages -without paying some price. The "one-child system," with its growing use of the day nursery or nurse, the kindergarten and the

boarding school, to minimize its evil effect upon the child, makes the interruption to specialized work for the women concerned temporary, and hardly more than a "sabbatic leave." This system is, however, less and less approved in the case of those fit to dower the race with first-class offspring, and the world is now in a mood to demand a much larger social service of parenthood from those at the top of life.

Again, what then? If what has been stated is true, then is it not clear that while "mating" and "parentage" of both men and women should alike be prepared for in a social education that shall lead toward and not away from a more generally successful family life, the education of girls should include some recognition of the fact of common experience that family life does generally make a larger demand for personal service upon women than upon men? Is it not also clear that this larger demand, although lessened increasingly by specialization of domestic crafts into industrial businesses, is not thereby and cannot be entirely abolished? What we are witnessing now in the domestic life is the "passing" of the servant caste and of "the hired girl," and of the unpaid family drudge, not the eclipse of the house-mother or the waning of the homemaker's charm or power. All the things that make housekeeping easier only render it less necessary to have alien members of the family circle, and give a better chance for all the members of the family, men, women, and children, to share in its work on a plane of actual co-operation.

The social education of women demands from now on the most scrupulous regard for the training of every normal girl for self-support. This cannot be too much emphasized. This is the only sure foundation for socially helpful sex-relationship and for that democratization of the family without which social progress is now impossible. The social education of women in general demands, also, the cultivation of domestic tastes and of some measure of household technique, not as a concession to the past, but as a safeguard of the future, in such fashion that the call to personal service of the family life may recall familiar and pleasant educational activities. These educational activities should precede those which tend directly toward vocational preparation for self-support. This

point, too, is vital. The age when almost all little girls like to do things which concern the family comfort is from the eighth to the fourteenth year, a period too young for proper vocational drill. Then, when they are most likely to be ordered out of the kitchen if there is a paid cook to give the order, and most likely to be thought "in the way" if trying to help in domestic processes of any sort, is the period of all others when to "learn by doing" what they are interested in will give them a background capable of easy adjustment to the later demands of family life. The training of boys of the same ages has an analogue in farming and handy use of common tools; and in the "work, play, and study school" boys and girls learn much together which fit both for mutual aid in the private family. The new education of the grade schools, therefore, is coming to the rescue of the house-mother's task as the high school and college have come to the aid of those who would provide vocational careers for women. They may meet in helpful alliance just as soon as a few social principles, which can make a bridge between them, are outlined and accepted. These principles are: First, most women should allow for marriage and maternity first place for the years socially required. Second, women cannot afford to lose entirely out of their married lives vocational discipline, by the use of leisure time left them by new easing of household service in odd jobs of unpaid "social work," as is now so much the custom. The very multiplicity and variety of ancient crafts practiced in the home make some one activity, held to rules of specialization, essential to the house-mother's development. The chosen vocation retained as an avocation, during the house-mother's active service, must not, however, be a chief dependence for either her own or the family support lest the family or herself suffer. It must be in the nature of a leasehold upon her chosen career to be retaken for full occupancy as soon as the children are out of hand and she has begun to feel the call of empty hours to the old familiar task. This is not an impractical plan, as many women are proving by experience. And it is easily demonstrated that society in the past has wasted the work-power of women past the child-bearing age in more ruthless and stupid prodigality than any other of its treasures. Third,

married women with young children must learn to combine in "team work," as they have never yet done, and to make engagements by two's or three's for the work one unmarried women may undertake alone. This is especially called for in the great social task of teaching, "woman's organic office in the world," as Emerson called it. The evils charged against a "feminized school," where they really exist, are those due not so much to the sex of the grade teachers as to their celibate condition in the "permanent supply" and to the too rapidly changing personnel of those who marry. The same suggested team work would operate well in all the higher professions; and the success of "continuation schools" proves that half-time and third-time labor schedules are perfectly feasible in manual work. The fourth social principle to be accepted in the interest of women and the family is one little perceived at the present time; namely that which marks the limitations of social usefulness in the specialization of labor itself. We are beginning to see that this process may be carried so far that a shallow and a cheap person may so fill the exacting and narrow ruts of a specialty of manual work or professional service as to check ambition and power to achieve a full and rich personality. It would be a spiritual loss to society if all women could become simply "experts" in some one field of labor, as so many men are and have to be; almost as great a loss as would be the leveling down of women in chastity and sex-reserve instead of the leveling up of men in order to secure a single standard of morals. Men and women alike must sometime be able to secure economic power without losing the chance to gain breadth of interest and richness of human association. And the mothers of the race should lead and are leading the way in the experience that will make that possible.

Last of all, the social principle by which the claims of personality and the demands of social solidarity (now so entangled in friction) may work smoothly to individual and social well-being, the principle yet to be clearly outlined and helpfully applied, should receive interpretation and guidance through the race experience of woman. For that service the social education of women must be lifted to a far higher plane of intellectual and ethical culture. Deeper than all the problems which the booming of the guns of

this world-war has forced upon the dullest social consciousness is the question, How may the individual conscience, the personal ideal, the lonely aspiration—these which in prophets and saints since the world was have dowered the future although disowned by their own time—be harmonized with, not destroyed by, the new demand for conformity which a new social solidarity is making? May it not be that human beings of the mother-sex who have paid and still must pay a price, one by one, for each single life, and who have at the same time always been held and still must be held supreme upbuilders of the social fabric, shall lead the race toward the solution of this most spiritual problem of democracy?

If so, then the social education of women must make them able, even through vicarious suffering, to give birth to a new social idealism; in like manner with their on-bearing of the generations. To fit women for such a task no price is too great for society to pay for their truly social education.

DISCUSSION

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A fascinating array of topics are presented for discussion by Mrs. Spencer's paper, but it is evident that they all cluster about that most perplexing and difficult of the reconstruction problems: How can we make good the losses during the past four years from superior racial stocks? Over five million men, selected for military service because of their fine physical development, have been killed, and the number of wounded amounts to twenty million. The losses of population due to pestilence and famine may be heavier than those of the battle fronts. Recently reported statistics of deaths from influenza show a much higher rate, and there have been additional losses from typhus fever and cholera.

The magnitude of the toll taken by famine is incalculable. Herbert Hoover is reported to have estimated that fourteen million Russians will die of starvation during the coming winter, and famine has already caused many deaths in Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and portions of Austria. The physiological losses due to inadequate and unsuitable food will contribute to the racial deterioration chargeable to the war. Studies in biological chemistry show that the injury from complete deprivation of food for relatively long periods may be repaired more fully than the losses due to prolonged efforts of the body to adjust itself to insufficient or badly balanced diets. The question of

whether the hitherto dominant races will be able to regain what has been squandered so recklessly during this great struggle will be a subject for earnest consideration for years to come by the sociologists of the civilized world.

The United States could play an important part in retrieving these losses from important racial groups, as the depleted stocks are fully represented in our population. Moreover, the circumstances leading to emigration from the older countries have tended to the selection of representatives of unusual intelligence and personal initiative. The shorter period of our participation in the war has protected us from the heavy casualties suffered by the other warring nations, and the home population has escaped the food deprivations of the European countries. Our resources and relatively better financial condition make it easy for us to support large additions to our population, and it seems desirable that these gains should be by the natural increase of our present population rather than by immigration from the depleted and famine-deteriorated peoples of Europe. Will the American women render this national and racial service? I take it that the relation which their higher education does at present or may in the future bear to their willingness and competence to discharge these obligations is considered by the previous speaker to be the chief focusing point of all discussions dealing with the social education of women.

The generous provision for the education of women is one of the most characteristic features of the civilization which is being developed in the United States. This noble policy of granting full opportunities for developing the intelligence of the mothers of coming generations has been adopted to an extent never before known in the history of the race. Over half (54.63 per cent) of the students in our public secondary schools are girls,¹ and in 1915-16 nearly a hundred thousand (95,436) women were registered in our universities and colleges,² another hundred thousand (96,094)³ were studying in normal and agricultural schools of collegiate rank, and smaller, scattering groups were registered in various professional courses; eleven thousand (11,240) received their first degrees and a thousand (1,062) earned masters' and doctors' degrees.⁴ The rapid gains during the past decade in the number of women college students are likely to continue, as the report of graduates of public and private high schools in 1916 who were "preparing for other higher institutions" showed that nearly three-fourths (72 per cent) of the thirty-five thousand looking forward to further training were women.⁵ These freely offered educational opportunities serve as agencies by which the more gifted and ambitious women are selected and prepared for independent, vocational careers, as only those with sound health, good mental ability, and the will-power, which makes possible continued application to study, can utilize fully the privileges so generously provided at public expense. If educated women show a general disposition to

¹ *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1917*, II, 517.

² *Ibid.*, 292-93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 302.

³ *Ibid.*, 384, 447, 454.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 546.

refuse the responsibilities of wives and mothers in order to pursue these careers, then we are confronted by the possibility of a process of selection which may result in the mothering of future generations by women of less intelligence and character.

Previous discussion¹ of the eugenic aspects of these American educational policies have been focused chiefly on the questions: "Will the college girl marry? Will she produce a family of sufficient size to maintain the portion of the population from which she springs?" The statistical data available to assist in answering these questions deal chiefly with the marriage-rates and fecundity of the graduates of the older women's colleges of the East. Summarizing the results of these investigations, we find that about one-half of the women college graduates marry, and that this rate corresponds with that of the women of the same social and economic status who have not attended college. The older college mothers whose child-bearing years are completed show an average of two to two and a half children per family. They marry later but have more children per year of married life than their non-college sisters, cousins, and friends. Divorce is almost unknown among college wives, and their children show an exceptionally low death-rate. Evidently the domestic shortcomings of women college graduates are quantitative rather than qualitative.

Two weaknesses vitiate the numerous indictments of the higher education of women for race-suicide tendencies: first, the sample of college women whose marriage and fecundity records supplied evidence to support the charges differed radically from the majority whom they were supposed to represent; and, second, the fact that marriage- and birth-rates have declined at the same time that women have obtained enlarged educational opportunities does not necessarily imply a causal relationship between the two tendencies. Other social, economic, or political changes may be responsible for both developments.

Attention should be focused on the great co-educational institutions of the West when considering the social significance of the higher education of American women, as over two-thirds of our ninety-five thousand women students attend colleges and universities where they are closely associated with young men whose ages, tastes, and social standards tend to make them attractive companions for their feminine fellow-students.² Vassar, Wellesley, Holyoke, Smith, and Bryn Mawr have contributed the bulk of the statistical material in previous discussions. These colleges charge high tuition fees and are situated so that the majority of their students must meet the heavy living

¹ Some of the more important of these discussions are: Amy Hewes, "Marital and Occupational Statistics of Graduates of Mount Holyoke College," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (December, 1911), XII, 771-97; Nellie S. Nearing, "Education and Fecundity," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (June, 1914), XIV, 156-74; Mary Smith, "Roberts Statistics of College and Non-College Women," *Quar. Pub. of the Am. Stat. Assoc.* (March-June, 1900), VII, 1-26.

² In 1915-16 only 31,055 of the 95,436 women students were found in the women's colleges. *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1917*, II, 306-25.

expenses of dormitory life; hence their patrons are drawn chiefly from families of different economic status, from that of the girls who attend the many small women's colleges founded by various churches, or from that of the highly democratic constituency of the free-tuition state universities. It is probable that the circumstances both of college and home life of the graduates of the older women's colleges may have made the marriage- and birth-rates somewhat lower than the average for the entire group of highly educated American women.

The danger of attributing falling marriage- and birth-rates to the higher education of women is evident when we consider that these social tendencies are common to many countries, some of which give but limited educational opportunities to women; New Zealand has a stationary population; the inability of France to maintain its population is well known; and even Germany, with its "Kinder, Kirche, Kuchen" ideals for womankind had a birth-rate for its urban population which was falling more rapidly than that of the English cities. The 1910 census shows that our entire native population was practically stationary; and if the forces at work to bring about this condition continue to operate, we soon may find an actual decline in the number of native-born of native stock. It seems probable that the economic independence of women is but one of a complex group of factors contributing to a tendency which is gaining rapidly, particularly in the urban communities, throughout the portions of the civilized world inhabited by the white race.

When proposing ways of checking this tendency in the interests of the racial replenishment needed at the present time, we must remember that the necessity of choosing between domestic life and a vocational career is not confined to the highly educated. We should advocate nothing for the professional women which cannot be copied by less gifted sisters. There is but a slight degree of variation in their problems, as the girls of poorer families usually obtain two or three years more education than the boys,¹ and, at the marriageable age, frequently have as great an earning power. A clergyman of a down-town church told me that he is consulted frequently by young couples who wish to marry but who feel that they cannot make the sacrifice of living standards that would be necessary with the loss of the woman's wages. If we advocate motherless mating, unmarried motherhood, or even part-time homemaking, we must consider the consequences of their adoption by all classes of our society.

The arguments against the radical theories undermining the traditional monogamous family have been presented fully in the paper. As has been suggested, two forms of gratification are involved in the more intimate relations of the sexes: the personal emotions of the mating instinct, which tends to be stronger in the male, and the more altruistic feelings of the parental instinct, which usually is more developed in the female. How can a person familiar

¹The records of the Boston Placement Bureau show 53 per cent of the boys and 70 per cent of the girls who received secondary-school training before going to work.

with the social history of the race countenance the shallow sentimentalism which would defend the gratification of either of these instinctive emotions without the full acceptance of the social obligations which normally accompany their indulgence? The evils of unmarried mating are familiar to all ages and races, but the suggestion that cultivated women may wish to bear the children of men whose companionship they do not desire has grown out of unwholesome conditions peculiar to our own age.

The title of the paper under discussion suggests the agencies to which we must resort if we wish to stimulate the young people of America to an interest in the eugenics problems created by the great conflict of the past four years. I wish to emphasize the desirability of educating both men and women to a greater realization of the services rendered to the nation and to the race by the full and intelligent discharge of family obligations. Biology and sociology teach us the equal responsibility of the father and mother for the character of the offspring, but the paternal recognition of these claims is of more recent origin in the racial social development. Ancestor worship was the chief means of developing the sanctions for fatherhood among the forbears of European nations and continues to reinforce the paternal instincts of nearly half the present inhabitants of the world. In the absence of these powerful religious sanctions, there is need of a well-organized educational program for retaining and strengthening the feelings which prompt men to self-sacrificing devotion to the young. As already suggested, our women are the best educated of all time, but their attention has been focused on preparation for independent careers rather than for homemaking. The fact that in 1915-16 nearly one in five of the girls in our secondary schools were registered in domestic science courses, suggests a reaction from this overemphasis of independent wage-earning. But this instruction has been weak in that there has been too great a tendency to assume that cooking and sewing are the beginning and end of homemaking. Greater efforts should be made to teach the extent to which the family and the home are the focusing points of all social betterment activities, and to develop a realization of the patriotic sanctions for intelligent parenthood.

Three movements are under way with which members of the Sociological Society may co-operate for the promotion of these educational activities:

1. Educators throughout the United States have been supplied with funds for research aiming at the discovery of means by which the public school may do more for character building. Attention should be called to the need of preparation for the finer forms of personal comradeship which will make possible marital relations acceptable to the sensitive, intelligent type of woman being developed in the United States. Both girls and boys should be interested in a practical way in the many social activities designed for the protection and proper development of children, and should learn to regard their production and nurture as high forms of patriotic service.

2. The Smith-Hughes Act, providing for vocational education, grants subsidies of federal funds for training women for domestic activities. This ranking of homemaking as a vocation to be prepared for with the same thoroughness as wage-earning occupations is an important gain for the social education advocated in the paper under discussion. Well-organized short courses and home projects¹ will do much to remedy the defective preparation for family life which has been common among women wage-earners since the Industrial Revolution. Other states will soon follow the example of Massachusetts and introduce instruction promoting the welfare of mothers and young children. Intelligent interest fostered by such training and reinforced by deep-rooted womanly instincts will surely result in an increasing willingness to accept homemaking as a vocation.

3. The third possibility which I wish to present may appear much more impracticable than these two undertakings of more limited scope. There has been much talk of a year of national service to be required of all boys at some time between the sixteenth and twenty-first year. It is argued that the training of all youths on terms of equality would promote democracy, prepare a citizen army, and develop a strong realization of the obligations due the nation. Why not have a year of national service for young women? They could be given a uniform which would not lower their vitality by restricting the circulation of the blood and interfering with the activities of the organs of nutrition and elimination. Physical training, instruction in personal hygiene, practical activities designed to protect the public health and to promote the comfort of mothers and children, would be subjects suitable for emphasis. Women will soon have the franchise and so are in need of preparation which will develop the same qualifications which are desirable for male citizens. Two million men have been trained in the most approved methods of slaughter in a few months, but much careful attention to personal nurture and to the physical and social environment of the young is required in order to produce men fit for efficient service in a national army. Results as valuable for peace as for war might be gained from the year of national service for women.

The patriotic devotion of our young women cannot be questioned. If any of us cherished a doubt about whether the youth of today still retained the capacity to suffer and die in order that national honor and safety might be more secure, it has been dispelled by the splendid response of our young army to the demands of this great world-crisis. But make our girls and boys realize fully what are the services which patriotism demands, and we may be assured of the devotion and self-sacrifice necessary for the full discharge of the duties which will strengthen not alone the nation but also the race.

¹ This term is used to describe set tasks which the girls are encouraged to carry through in their homes. Teachers may require reports of these from the girls or their mothers, or when it seems desirable may go to the home to supervise their execution.

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The present chaos in educational methods is bound to exist as long as there is chaos in social aims. What the future type of civilization is to demand of educated women is not yet known in detail. Certain outstanding principles in which women are involved may, however, be accepted as guides: First, the woman power which the world-war has released will never again be wholly shackled by outworn precedents. Secondly, the war has given proof that, in the words of a noted scholar, "no civilization can remain the highest if another civilization adds to the intelligence of its men the intelligence of its women." Thirdly, the readjustments of society which are to come must be based on more generous and sympathetic relationships and more equitable principles of life and labor than have prevailed in the past. Women must be educated to participate intelligently in establishing the new order.

For the present purpose Mrs. Spencer's definition of the social education of women will suffice as a starting-point for two definite suggestions. It is "that type of training which has for its aim both the development of the individual life and its adjustment to the needs of the social whole." Moreover, "it must take cognizance of the family as a durable institution demanding permanent if changing adjustment of the individual life to its solidarity and its perfecting."

Granted that the family is a durable institution, it must also be granted that in its manifestations, that is, its social relations as well as its environmental forms, it is subject to change. It is also clear that the processes of adjustment which are to insure the solidarity and perfecting of the family are not to be limited to the individual as such. Processes of adjustment must be mutual to be just and to give permanent results. There must be recognition by the larger group of such modification of practices as will contribute to the proper development of the individual. The family life of today is not infrequently carried on in such a way as to require of the woman large sacrifices and few satisfactions. A considerable portion of woman's labor is assumed to be necessarily of low grade.

The following incident may be cited in illustration of this point: The authorities in charge of a certain government building were recently unable to secure the needed force of women to scrub floors on hands and knees. They thereupon installed electric scrubbing devices which could be pushed back and forth by noncombatant, silver-haired gentlemen, and forthwith, in so far as scrubbing was done by laborious and offensive methods, it remained woman's work.

There are legions of farm homes in prosperous communities where the farming processes are conducted with the help of every time- and strength-saving device known to science, and yet where only the most meager and primitive equipment is provided for the domestic processes. Many a business man insists on efficiency methods in his office and is content to have his wife

conduct her work with worn-out tools and out-of-date machinery. In some cases he makes it obligatory for her to do so through his unwillingness to meet the expense involved in releasing part of her strength and time from physical toil. It is too often not seen by either the man or the woman that the higher values of both individual and family life are thereby seriously affected if not wholly destroyed.

My first suggestion follows, namely, that the social education of the woman for the home must be such as to lead her to recognize and demand such applications of science as will reduce to a minimum the irksome toil of maintaining a household.

This principle must be followed if the appeal is to be made to the intelligent woman of the future. No matter how strongly she may be urged to render service in the home because of its essentially altruistic and socially beneficent nature, she will recognize and is in fact now seeing, even with slight education, the great extent to which it is anachronistic and wasteful or, to use Mrs. Spencer's term, is made up in considerable part of "vestigial functions."

My second suggestion rests on the corollary of the well-known fact that women are following household industries from the home to the factory. This corollary is not as generally recognized as is the fact, and yet it should be accepted as one of the determining factors in the social education of women. It is that with the development of the industrial system a whole new group of duties rests upon the housekeeper. She is, to be sure, called a consumer rather than a producer, but there is but slight token of the real meaning of this function in the education which is given her. If she attempts to get any inkling of her task, she is confronted in the educational program with those courses whose content is made to serve business as a commercial rather than as the social undertaking which it should be for her.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' Act and the methods of civilian relief instituted by the Red Cross have opened the eyes of tens of thousands of women, as no schooling ever has done, to the importance of the woman's function as spender and to the absolute necessity of her counting on a regular and definite income and working on a budget system, if the family is to be maintained in decency and order.

The Industrial Revolution, moreover, is not the only modern movement which has profoundly affected the home. Transportation and communication, urbanization, community control of health, food and education, organized care of the sick and infirm and criminal, public forms of entertainment and instruction, libraries, the press, parks, art galleries and museums, and political agencies of different sorts are determining the character of modern homes, and nothing is done to show the woman through her education that what those forces shall be should rest in part on her trained intelligence and constant effort rather than on chance or the business interests of a few dominating citizens or the evil methods of organized vice and crime.

There is hardly a class of the community that is more worthy of pity than are those women of whom Mrs. Spencer has spoken, "whose children are out of hand." Their work-power would not be ruthlessly or prodigally wasted if their social education had given them a vision of how to direct the new world-forces and turn them to account not only in their own homes but in the homes of other women who need help. Another equally pitiable group consists of those young women of the so-called leisure class, conscious of their latent power, whose training has not enriched them socially but rather hemmed them in and who look forward to married life too frequently as a means of escape from convention and restraint rather than as an experience bringing new duties and opportunities. The Great War has given some degree of social education to these two groups of women, and the question many are asking anxiously is, "What is to become of all that power in the new day?" It is hardly credible that it will not be available, in some measure at least, for the new tasks of readjustment, or that any considerable number will lapse into their old life of luxurious self-indulgence; but whatever the outcome with the present generation, the new generation must not be handicapped by the failure to give it the new social education during the years when the educational processes are most productive.

**CAPTAIN THOMAS D. ELLIOT, SANITARY CORPS, DETAILED TO THE DIVISION OF
VENEREAL DISEASES, UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE¹**

Your President has permitted me to speak on the first part of the subject of the session, and to present a phase only slightly touched upon in the interesting addresses of Dr. Spencer and Miss Eaves; namely, the relation between instruction in sex ethics on the one hand and the campaign against the venereal diseases on the other.

Under the stimulus of the war, which revealed nearly 200,000 new cases in the army, Congress appropriated last July over four million dollars for a campaign against venereal disease. The President also put squarely upon the Public Health Service the federal responsibility for civilian public health. Five-sixths of the 200,000 cases, however, came into the army from civil life. The government's campaign against venereal diseases therefore centers now in the Division of Venereal Diseases of the Public Health Service, under Surgeon General Blue and Assistant Surgeon General C. C. Pierce.

Venereal diseases are exceptional among the infectious diseases in that their usual transmission involves an economic act with supply and demand as factors. Anything which affects human beings as sex beings affects directly or indirectly

¹ The Public Health Service offers your members its co-operation in this connection through the Section on Educational Activities, 228 First Street NW., Washington, D.C. Special literature, exhibits, films, and speakers suitable for nearly every possible group are available.

the problem of venereal disease. This will be true as long as there are no guaranteed inoculations against venereal diseases. It would be poor epidemiology as well as poor common sense to deal exclusively with the existing supply of carriers without also seeking to reduce the demand for contacts. This means that sex education, and anything else which will in the long run reduce infectious contacts, is good public-health policy, quite apart from whatever intrinsic merits such measures may have.

If, at any time, however, absolute physical preventives of venereal diseases are discovered, a sharp challenge will be put up to you who are interested primarily in the social and moral phases of the problem. I ask you whether you have bolstered up your arguments too much upon the dangers of venereal disease. We claim even now that it is possible to control venereal diseases. We claim that commercialized prostitution can be eliminated. The independence of women, free divorce, the endowment and protection of motherhood, the growing knowledge of birth control, prophylaxis, and the revelations of psychoanalysis—all these tend in some way to break down orthodox standards and undermine older codes. Can you give arguments in their defense valid and convincing, based upon social, psychic, and physiological facts, independent of theology on the one hand and of venereal disease on the other?

EDUCATION IN ITS RELATION TO THE CONFLICT AND FUSION OF CULTURES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE IMMIGRANT, THE NEGRO, AND MISSIONS

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I. THE PROBLEM STATED

It has long been a cardinal problem in sociology to determine just how to conceive in objective terms so very real and palpable a thing as the continuity and persistence of social groups. Looked at as a physical object society appears to be made up of mobile and independent units. The problem is to understand the nature of the bonds that bind these independent units together and how these connections are maintained and transmitted.

Conceived of in its lowest terms the unity of the social group may be compared to that of the plant communities. In these communities, the relation between the individual species which compose it seems at first wholly fortuitous and external. Co-operation and community, so far as it exists, consists merely in the fact that, within a given geographical area, certain species come together merely because each happens to provide by its presence an environment in which the life of the other is easier, more secure, than if they lived in isolation. It seems to be a fact, however, that this communal life of the associated plants fulfils, as in other forms of life, a typical series of changes, which correspond to growth, decay, and death. The plant community comes into existence, matures, grows old, and eventually dies. In doing this, however, it provides by its own death an environment in which another form of community finds its natural habitat. Each community thus precedes and prepares the way for its successor. Under such circumstances the succession of the individual communities itself assumes the character of a life-process.¹

¹ Frederic E. Clemens, *Plant Succession: An Analysis of the Development of Vegetation*, p. 6. Published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916.

In the case of the animal and human societies we have all these conditions and forces and something more. The individuals associated in an animal community not only provide, each for the other, a physical environment in which all may live, but the members of the community are organically pre-adapted to one another in ways which are not characteristic of the members of a plant community. As a consequence, the relations between the members of the animal community assume a much more organic character. It is, in fact, a characteristic of animal society that the members of a social group are organically adapted to one another and therefore the organization of animal society is almost wholly transmitted by physical inheritance.

In the case of human societies we discover not merely organically inherited adaptation, which characterizes animal societies, but, in addition, a great body of habits and accommodations which are transmitted in the form of social inheritance. Something that corresponds to social tradition exists, to be sure, in animal societies. Animals learn by imitation from one another, and there is evidence that this social tradition varies with changes in environment. In man, however, association is based on something more than habits or instinct. In human society, largely as a result of language, there exists a conscious community of purpose. We have not merely folkways, which by an extension of that term might be attributed to animals, but we have mores and formal standards of conduct.

In a recent notable volume on education, John Dewey has formulated a definition of the educational process which he identifies with the process by which the social tradition of human society is transmitted. Education, he says in effect, is a self-renewing process, a process in which and through which the social organism lives.

With the renewal of physical existence goes, in the case of human beings, the re-creation of beliefs, ideals, hopes, happiness, misery and practices. The continuity of experience, through renewal of the social group is a literal fact. Education, in its broadest sense, is the means of this social continuity of life.¹

Under ordinary circumstances the transmission of the social tradition is from the parents to the children. Children are born

¹ *Education and Democracy*, pp. 2-3.

into the society and take over its customs, habits, and standards of life simply, naturally, and without conflict. But it will at once occur to anyone that the physical life of society is not always continued and maintained in this natural way, i.e., by the succession of parents and children. New societies are formed by conquest and by the imposition of one people upon another. In such cases there arises a conflict of cultures, and as a result the process of fusion takes place slowly and is frequently not complete. New societies are frequently formed by colonization, in which case new cultures are grafted onto older ones. The work of missionary societies is essentially one of colonization in this sense. Finally we have societies growing up, as in the United States, by immigration. These immigrants, coming as they do from all parts of the world, bring with them fragments of divergent cultures. Here again the process of assimilation is slow, often painful, not always complete.

In the case where societies are formed and maintained by adoption, that is, by immigration, the question arises: How is it possible for a people of a different race and a different culture to take over the traditions and social inheritance of another and an alien people? What are the conditions which facilitate this transmission and, in general, what happens when people of different races and cultures are brought together in the intimate relations of community life?

These questions have already arisen in connection with the education of the Negro in America and with the work of foreign missions. If the schools are to extend and rationalize the work they are already doing in the Americanization of the immigrant peoples, questions of this sort may become actual in the field of pedagogy. This paper is mainly concerned with the Negro, not because the case of the Negro is more urgent than or essentially different from that of the immigrant, but because the materials for investigation are more accessible.

Much has been said and written in the past about the intellectual inferiority of the Negro. Attempts have been made to demonstrate this inferiority on the basis of general anthropological, ethnological, and even theological grounds. The history of

these efforts has produced some curious and sociologically interesting literature. But this literature is valuable mainly for what it reveals of the distortion of sentiment and opinion which the racial conflict has produced in the black man and the white.¹

More recently efforts have been made to determine the relative intellectual capacity of the Negro and the white man by psychological measurements of the achievements of Negro school children as compared with white. The result of these investigations is still highly speculative and, on the whole, inconclusive.² On the basis of all the evidence at hand the question remains where Boaz left it when he said that the black man was little, if any, inferior to the white man in intellectual capacity and, in any case, racial as compared with individual differences were small and relatively unimportant.³

Admitting, as the anthropologists now seem disposed to do, that the average native intelligence in the races is about the same, we may still expect to find in different races certain special traits and tendencies which rest on biological rather than cultural differences. For example, over and above all differences of language, custom, or historic tradition it is to be presumed that Teuton and Latin, the Negro and the Jew—to compare the most primitive with the most sophisticated of peoples—have certain racial aptitudes, certain innate and characteristic differences of temperament which manifest themselves especially in the objects of attention, in tastes, and in talents. Is the Jewish intellectual, for example, a manifestation of an original and peculiar endowment of the Jewish race or is he rather a product of traditional interest and emphasis characteristic of Jewish people—a characteristic which may be explained as an accommodation to the long-continued urban environment of the race?⁴

¹ Charles Carroll, *The Negro a Beast*, American Book and Bible House, 1890.

² George Oscar Ferguson, Jr., "The Psychology of the Negro: An Experimental Study," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 36, April, 1916.

³ Boaz, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, 1911, p. 269.

⁴ Robert E. Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the City Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, XX (March, 1915), 589.

Is the Negro's undoubted interest in music and taste for bright colors, commonly attributed to the race, to be regarded as inherent and racial traits or are they merely the characteristics of primitive people?

Is Catholicism to be regarded as the natural manifestation of the Latin temperament as it has been said that Protestantism is of the Teutonic?

Here are differences in the character of the cultural life which can scarcely be measured quantitatively in terms of gross intellectual capacity. Historical causes do not, it seems, adequately account for them. So far as this is true we are perhaps warranted in regarding them as modifications of transmitted tradition due to innate traits of the people who have produced them. Granted that civilization, as we find it, is due to the development of communication and the possibility of mutual exchange of cultural materials, still every special culture is the result of a selection, and every people borrows from the whole fund of cultural materials not merely that which it can use but which, because of certain organic characteristics, it finds stimulating and interesting.

The question then resolves itself into this: How far do racial characteristics and innate biological interests determine the extent to which one racial group can and will take over and assimilate the characteristic features of an alien civilization? How far will it merely take over the cultural forms, giving them a different content or a different inflection?

This problem, so far as it is related to the lives of primitive peoples, has already been studied by the ethnologists. Rivers, in his analysis of the cultures of Australian people, has found that what has hitherto been regarded as primitive cultures are really fusions of other and earlier forms of culture.¹ The evidence of this is the fact that the fusion has not been complete. In the process of interchange it frequently happens that what Rivers calls the "fundamental structure" of the primitive society has remained unchanged while the relatively formal and external elements of the culture only have been taken over.

¹ Rivers, "Ethnological Analysis of Cultures," *Nature*, Vol. 87, 1911.

There are indications also that where cultural borrowings have taken place the formal elements have a different meaning for the people who have taken them over than they had for the people from whom they were borrowed. W. J. McGee, in an article entitled "Piratical Acculturation," has given an interesting illustration of this fact.¹

McGee's observations of the Seri Indians go to show that they imitated the weapons of their enemies but that they regarded them as magical instruments and the common people did not even know their names. There are numerous other illustrations of this so-called "piratical acculturation" among the observations of ethnologists. It is said that the Negroes, when they first came into possession of the white man's guns, regarded them as magical instruments for making a noise and used them, as the Germans used the zeppelins and the newspapers, merely to destroy the enemy's morale.

No doubt the disposition of primitive peoples is to conceive everything mystically, or animistically, to use the language of ethnology, particularly where it concerns something strange. On the other hand, when the primitive man encountered among the cultural objects to which civilization has introduced him something which he can make immediately intelligible to himself, he at once forms a perfectly rational conception of it.

Some years ago at Lovedale, South Africa, the seat of one of the first successful industrial mission schools, there was an important ceremony to which all the native African chiefs in the vicinity were formally invited. It was the introduction and demonstration of the use of the plow, the first one that had ever been seen in those parts. The proceedings were followed with great interest by a large gathering of natives. When the demonstration was finished one old chief turned to his followers and said with great conviction: "This is a great thing which the white man has brought us. One hoe like that is worth as much as ten wives." An African chief could hardly have expressed appreciation of this one fundamental device of our civilization in more pragmatic or less

¹ W. J. McGee, "Piratical Acculturation," *Am. Anthropologist*, V. No. 11, pp. 243-49.

mystical terms. The wise old chief grasped the meaning of the plow at once, but this was because he had been pre-adapted by earlier experience to do so.

It is in general the subjective, historic, and ultimately, perhaps, racial and temperamental factor in the lives of peoples which makes it difficult, though not impossible, perhaps, to transmit political and religious institutions to people of a different racial type and a different social tradition. William James's essay "On a Certain Blindness in Human Beings," in which he points out how completely we are likely to miss the point and mistake the inner significance of the lives of those about us unless we share their experience, emphasizes this fact.

If then the transmission and fusion of cultures is slow, incomplete, and sometimes impossible it is because the external forms, the formulas, technical devices of every social tradition, can be more easily transmitted than the aims, the attitudes, sentiments, and ideals which attach to them, which are embodied in them. The former can be copied and used; the latter must be appreciated and understood.

II. AFRICAN HERITAGE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

For a study of the acculturation process there are probably no materials more complete and accessible than those offered by the history of the American Negro. No other representatives of a primitive race have had so prolonged and so intimate an association with European civilization and still preserved their racial identity. Among no other people is it possible to find so many stages of culture existing contemporaneously.

It has been generally taken for granted that the Negro brought a considerable fund of African tradition and African superstition from Africa to America. One not infrequently runs across, in the current literature and even in standard books upon the Negro, references to voodoo practices among the Negro in the southern states. As a matter of fact the last authentic account which we have of anything approaching a Negro nature worship in the United States took place in Louisiana in 1884. It is described by George W. Cable in an article on "Creole Slave Songs" which

appeared in the *Century Magazine* in 1886. In this case it seems to have been an importation from the West Indies. I have never run across an account of a genuine instance of voodoo worship elsewhere in the United States, although it seems to have been common enough in the West Indies at one time.

My own impression is that the amount of African tradition which the Negro brought to the United States was very small. In fact there is every reason to believe, it seems to me, that the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament. It is very difficult to find in the South today anything that can be traced directly back to Africa. This does not mean that there is not a great deal of superstition, conjuring, root doctoring, and magic generally among the Negroes of the United States. What it does mean is that the superstitions we do find are those which we might expect to grow up anywhere among an imaginative people living in an intellectual twilight such as exists on the isolated plantations of the southern states. Furthermore this is in no way associated as it is in some of the countries of Europe, southern Italy for example, with the Negroes' religious beliefs and practices. It is not part of Negro Christianity. It is with him, as it is with us, folk-lore pure and simple. It is said that there are but two African words that have been retained in the English language. One of these words is "Buckra," from which the name Buckra Beach in Virginia comes. This seems remarkable when we consider that slaves were still brought into the United States clandestinely up to 1862.¹

The explanation is to be found in the manner in which the Negro slaves were collected in Africa and the manner in which they were disposed of after they arrived in this country. The great markets for slaves in Africa were on the west coast, but the old slave trails ran back from the coast far into the interior of the continent and all the peoples of Central Africa contributed to the

¹ There is or was a few years ago near Mobile a colony of Africans who were brought to the United States as late as 1860. It is true, also, that Major R. R. Moten, who has succeeded Booker T. Washington as head of Tuskegee Institute, still preserves the story that was told him by his grandmother of the way in which his great-grandfather was brought from Africa in a slave ship.

stream of enforced emigration to the New World. In the West Indies a great deal was known among slave-traders and plantation owners about the character and relative value of slaves from different parts of Africa, but in the United States there was less knowledge and less discrimination. Coming from all parts of Africa and having no common language and common tradition, the memories of Africa which they brought with them were soon lost.

There was less opportunity in the United States, also, than in the West Indies for a slave to meet one of his own people because the plantations were considerably smaller, more widely scattered, and especially because as soon as they were landed in this country slaves were immediately divided and shipped in small numbers, frequently no more than one or two at a time, to different plantations. This was the procedure with the very first Negroes brought to this country. It was found easier to deal with the slaves if they were separated from their kinsmen.

On the plantation they were thrown together with slaves who had already forgotten or only dimly remembered their life in Africa. English was the only language of the plantation. The attitude of the plantation slave to each fresh arrival seems to have been much like that of the older immigrant toward the greenhorn. Everything that marked him as an alien was regarded as ridiculous and barbaric.¹ Furthermore the slave had in fact very little desire to return to his native land. I once had an opportunity to talk with an old man living just outside of Mobile who was a member of what was known as the African colony. This African colony represented the cargo of one of the last slave ships that was landed in this country just at the opening of the war. The old man remembered Africa and gave me a very interesting account of the way in which he was captured and brought to America. I asked him if he had ever wished to return. He said that a missionary had visited them at one time who had been in their country

¹ Mrs. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies*, Vol. I, p. 251. London: Wittaker, Treacher and Co. "Native Africans do not at all like it to be supposed that they retain the customs of their country and consider themselves wonderfully civilized by being transplanted from Africa to the West Indies. Creole Negroes invariably consider themselves superior people, and lord it over the native Africans."

and spoke their language. This missionary offered to send them back to Africa and even urged them to go. "I told him," said the old man, "that I crossed the ocean once but I made up my mind then never to trust myself in a boat with a white man again."

The fact that the Negro brought with him from Africa so little tradition which he was able to transmit and perpetuate on American soil makes that race unique among all peoples of our cosmopolitan population. Other people have lost, under the disintegrating influence of the American environment, much of their cultural heritages. None have been so utterly cut off and estranged from their ancestral land, traditions, and people.

It is just because of this that the history of the Negro offers exceptional materials for determining the relative influence of temperamental and historical conditions upon the process by which cultural materials from one racial group are transmitted to another. For, in spite of the fact that the Negro brought so little intellectual baggage with him, he has exhibited a rather marked ethnical individuality in the use and interpretation of the cultural materials to which he has had access.

III. RELIGION OF THE SLAVE

The first, and perhaps the only distinctive, institution which the Negro has developed in this country is the Negro church, and it is in connection with this religion that we may expect to find, if anywhere, the indications of a distinctive Afro-American culture.

The actual conditions under which the African slaves were converted to Christianity have never been adequately investigated. We know, in a general way, that there was at first considerable opposition to admitting the Negro into the church because it was feared that it would impair the master's title to his slaves. We know, however, that the house servants were very early admitted to churches and that in many cases masters went to considerable pains to instruct those servants who shared with them the intimacy of the household.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701, and the efforts to Christianize the

Negro were carried on with a great deal of zeal and with some success. It was not, however, until the coming of the new, free, and evangelistic types of Christianity, the Baptists and the Methodists, that the masses of the Negro people, i.e., the plantation Negroes, found a form of Christianity that they could make their own.

How eagerly and completely the Negro did make the religion of these two denominations his own may be gathered from some of the contemporary writings, which record the founding of the first Negro churches in America. The first Negro church in Jamaica was founded by George Liele, shortly after the close of the Revolutionary War. George Liele had been a slave in Savannah, Ga., but his master, who seems to have been a Tory, emigrated to Jamaica after the war. The following excerpt from a missionary report indicates the way in which Liele entered upon his self-appointed ministry.

Being "called by grace" himself, George began to discover his love to other Negroes, on the same plantation with himself, by reading hymns among them, encouraging them to sing, and sometimes by explaining the most striking parts of them.¹

Andrew Bryan in Savannah was one of Liele's congregation. He was converted, according to the contemporary record, by Liele's exposition of the text "You must be born again!" About eight months after Liele's departure, Andrew began to preach to a Negro congregation, "with a few whites." The colored people had been permitted to erect a building at Yamacraw, but white people in the vicinity objected to the meetings and Bryan and some of his associates were arrested and whipped. But he "rejoiced in his whippings" and holding up his hand declared "he would freely suffer death for the cause of Jesus Christ." Bryan's master interceded for him and "was most affected and grieved" at his punishment. He gave Bryan and his followers a barn to worship in, after Chief Justice Osborne had given them their liberty. This was the origin of what was probably the first Negro

¹ "Letters Showing the Rise and Progress of the Early Negro Churches of Georgia and the West Indies," *Journal of Negro History*, I (1916), 70.

church in America. George Liele and Andrew Bryan were probably not exceptional men even for their day. The Rev. James Cook wrote of Bryan: "His gifts are small but he is clear in the grand doctrines of the Gospel. I believe him truly pious and he has been the instrument of doing more good among the poor slaves than all the learned doctors in America."¹

The significant thing is that, with the appearance of these men, the Negroes in America ceased to be a mission people. At least, from this time on, the movement went on of its own momentum, more and more largely under the direction of Negro leaders. Little Negro congregations, under the leadership of Negro preachers, sprang up wherever they were tolerated. Often they were suppressed, more often they were privately encouraged. Not infrequently they met in secret. The following description is written of one of these churches by an English visitor to the United States in 1835:

I learned that in the afternoon there would be worship at the African church, and I resolved to go. . . . The building, called a church, is without the town, and placed in a hollow so as to be out of sight; it is, in the fullest sense, "without the gate." It is a poor log-house, built by the hands of the Negroes, and so placed as to show that they must worship by stealth. It is, perhaps, 20 by 25, with boarding and rails breast high, run around three sides, so as to form galleries. To this is added a lean-to, to take the overplus, when the fine weather should admit of larger numbers. There were three small openings besides the door, and the chinks in the building, to admit light and air. . . . By the law of the State, no coloured persons are permitted to assemble for worship, unless a white person be present and preside. On this account the elders of Mr. Douglas' church attend in turn, that the poor people may not lose the privileges they prize. . . . One of the blacks . . . gave out Dr. Watt's beautiful psalm "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive," etc. They all rose immediately. They had no books, for they could not read; but it was printed on their memory, and they sang it off with freedom and feeling. There is much melody in their voice; and when they enjoy a hymn, there is a raised expression of the face, and an undulating motion of the body, keeping time with the music, which is very touching. . . . Much has been said, and is still said, about the essential inequality of the races. That is a question which must be settled by experiment. Here the experiment was undoubtedly in favour of the blacks. In sense and in feeling, both in prayer and address, they were equal to the whites; and in free and

¹ *Journal of Negro History*, I (1916), 70.

pointed expression much superior. Indeed I know not that while I was in America, I listened to a peroration of an address that was superior to the one I have briefly noted to you.²

In 1787 Richard Allen and Absalom Jones had formed in Philadelphia the Free African Society, out of which four years later in 1790 arose the first separate denominational organization of Negroes, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. George Liele, Andrew Bryan, Richard Allen, and the other founders of the Negro church were men of some education as their letters and other writings show. They had had the advantage of life in a city environment and the churches which they founded were in all essentials faithful copies of the denominational forms as they found them in the churches of that period.

The religion of the Negroes on the plantations was then, as it is today, of a much more primitive sort. Furthermore there were considerable differences in the cultural status of different regions of the South and these differences were reflected in the Negro churches. There was at that time, as there is today, a marked contrast between the Upland and the Sea Island Negroes. Back from the coast the plantations were smaller, the contact of the master and slave were more intimate. On the Sea Islands, however, where the Negroes were and still are more completely isolated than elsewhere in the South, the Negro population approached more closely to the cultural status of the native African.

The Sea Islanders were taken possession of in the first years of the war by the federal forces, and it was here that people from the North first came in contact with the plantation Negro of the lower South. They immediately became interested in the manners and customs of the Island Negroes, and from them we have the first accurate accounts of their folk-lore and songs.

The Sea Island Negroes speak a distinct dialect and retain certain customs which are supposed to be of African origin. It is, however, in their religious practices that we have the nearest

² Andrew Reed, D.D., and James Matheson, D.D., *A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, Vol. I. London: Jackson and Walford, 1235.

approach to anything positively African. The following description of a "shout" is interesting in this connection:

There is a ceremony which the white clergymen are inclined to discountenance, and even of the colored elders, some of the more discreet try sometimes to put on a face of discouragement; and, although if pressed for Biblical warrant for the "shout" they generally seem to think, "he in de Book," or "he dere-da in Matchew," still it is not considered blasphemous or improper if "de chillen" and "dem young gal" carry it on in the evening, for amusement's sake, and with no well-defined intention of "praise." But the true "shout" takes place on Sundays, or on "praise" nights through the week, and either in the praise-house or in some cabin in which a regular religious meeting had been held. Very likely more than half the population of a plantation is gathered together. Let it be the evening, and a light wood-fire burns red before the door of the house and on the hearth. For some time one can hear, though at a good distance, the vociferous exhortation or a prayer of the presiding elder or of the brother who has a gift that way and is not "on the back seat"—a phrase the interpretation of which is "under the censure of the church authorities for bad behavior"—and at regular intervals one hears the elder "dealing" a hymnbook hymn, which is sung two lines at a time and whose wailing cadences, born on the night air, are indescribably melancholy.

But the benches are pushed back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women, sprucely dressed young men, grotesquely half-clad field hands, the women generally with gay handkerchiefs twisted about their heads and with short skirts, boys with tattered shirts and men's trousers, young girls bare-footed, all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the "sperichil" is struck up, begin first walking and by and by shuffling around, one after the other, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken from the floor and the progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion which agitates the entire shouter and soon brings out streams of perspiration. Sometimes they dance silently, sometimes as they shuffle they sing the chorus of the spiritual, and sometimes the song itself is also sung by the dancers. But more frequently a band, composed of some of the best singers and of tired shouters, stand at the side of the room to "base" the others, singing the body of the song and dropping their hands together or on their knees. Song and dance are alike extremely energetic and often, when the shout lasts into the middle of the night, the monotonous thud, thud of the feet prevents sleep within half a mile of the praise-house.¹

This has undoubtedly the characteristics of primitive ritual. But this does not mean that it is African in origin. It seems to

¹Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs. A Study in Racial and National Music*, p. 33. New York and London: G. Schirmer. Quotation taken from *The Nation*, May 30, 1867.

me more likely that this is to be interpreted as a very simple and natural expression of group emotion, which is just beginning to crystallize and assume formal character. The general tone of these meetings is that of a religious revival in which we expect a free and uncontrolled expression of religious emotion, the difference being that in this case the expression of the excitement is beginning to assume a formal and ritualistic character.

In the voodoo practices, of which we have any accurate records, the incantations that were pronounced by the priests contain strange, magic words, scraps of ancient ritual, the meanings of which are forgotten. Lafcadio Hearne, who knew the Negro life of Louisiana and Martinique intimately and was keen on the subject of Negro folk-lore, has preserved for us this scrap from an old Negro folk-song in which some of these magic words have been preserved. Writing to his friend Edward Krehbiel he says:

Your friend is right, no doubt about the

"Tig, tig, malabon
La Chelerna che tanog
Redjoum!"

I asked my black nurse what it meant. She only laughed and shook her head. "Mais c'est voodoo, ça; je n'en sais rien!" "Well," said I, "don't you know anything about voodoo songs?" "Yes," she answered, "I know voodoo songs; but I can't tell you what they mean." And she broke out into the wildest, weirdest ditty I ever heard. I tried to write down the words; but as I did not know what they meant I had to write by sound alone, spelling the words according to the French pronunciation.¹

So far as I know there are, among the plantation hymns, no such remains of ancient ritual, mystical words whose meanings are unknown, no traces whatever of African tradition. If there is anything that is African about the Negroes' Christianity it is not African tradition but the African temperament which has contributed it. I assume, therefore, that what we find in the most primitive form of Negro Christianity is not the revival of an older and more barbaric religion but the inception of a new and original form of Christianity.

An interesting fact in regard to the religious practices of the Negroes of the Sea Islands, which has not so far as I know been

¹ Henry Edward Krehbiel, *op. cit.*, p. 37. From a letter of Lafcadio Hearne.

recorded in any of the descriptions of that people, is the existence among them of two distinct religious institutions, namely the church and the "praise house." The praise house is the earlier institution and represents apparently a more primitive and more characteristically Negro or African type. In slavery days, the church was the white man's place of worship. Negroes were permitted to attend the services and there was usually a gallery reserved for their use. Churches, however, were few and not all the slaves on the plantation could attend at any one time. Those who did attend were usually the house servants. On every large plantation, however, there was likely to be, and this was characteristic of the Sea Island plantations, a "praise house" where the slaves were permitted to worship in their own peculiar way. It was here that the "shout" took place. After the Civil War, churches were erected and regular congregations of the Negro denominations were formed. The Negro churches, however, never wholly displaced the praise houses on Port Royal and some of the other islands. It is a singular fact that today, among the Negroes of Port Royal, at any rate, no one is converted in church. It is only in the praise houses that Negroes get religion. It is only through the praise house that one enters the church. The whole process involves, as I have been informed, not merely an "experience," the precise nature of which is not clear, but also an examination by the elders to determine whether the experience is genuine, before candidates are admitted in good standing as members of the congregation.

IV. THE NEGRO "SPIRITUALS"

On the whole the plantation Negro's religion was a faithful copy of the white man's. It was content rather than the form which suffered sea-change in the process of transmission from the white man to the black. What this content was, what new inflection and color the Negro slave imparted to the religious forms which he borrowed from his master, we may, perhaps, gather from a study of the plantation hymns. These folk-songs represent, at any rate, the naive and spontaneous utterance of hopes and aspirations for which the Negro slave had no other adequate means of expression.

The first and most interesting account we have of these Negro spirituals is that of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in his *Army Life in a Black Regiment*.¹ He collected them from the lips of his own black soldiers as they sung them about the campfire at night. He was almost the first to recognize that these rude plantation hymns represented a real literature, the only real literature the American Negro has produced, until very recent times.

Col. Higginson has compared the Negro spirituals to the Scotch ballads and to the folk-songs of other races. It is, however, not so much their similarities as their differences which are interesting and significant. Negro folk-songs are ruder and more primitive. The verses, often but not always rhymed, are composed almost entirely of single phrases, followed by a refrain, which is repeated again with slight modifications, ending, not infrequently, in an exclamation.

An' I couldn't hear nobody pray,
O Lord!

Couldn't hear nobody pray.

O-way down yonder

By myself,

I couldn't hear nobody pray.

In the valley,

Couldn't hear nobody pray,

On my knees,

Couldn't hear nobody pray,

With my burden,

Couldn't hear nobody pray,

An' my Savior,

Couldn't hear nobody pray.

O Lord!

I couldn't hear nobody pray,

O Lord!

Couldn't hear nobody pray.

O-way down yonder —

By myself,

I couldn't hear nobody pray.

¹ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment*. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870.

Chilly waters,
Couldn't hear nobody pray,
In the Jerdan,
Couldn't hear nobody pray,
Crossing over,
Couldn't hear nobody pray,
Into Canaan,
Couldn't hear nobody pray.

In Negro folk-songs the music and expression are everything. The words, often striking and suggestive to be sure, represent broken fragments of ideas, thrown up from the depths of the Negroes' consciousness and swept along upon a torrent of wild, weird, and often beautiful melody.

One reason the verses of the Negro folk-songs are so broken and fragmentary is that the Negroes were not yet in secure possession of the English language. Another explanation is the conditions under which they were produced. The very structure of these verses indicates their origin in the communal excitement of a religious assembly. A happy phrase, a striking bit of imagery, flung out by some individual was taken up and repeated by the whole congregation. Naturally the most expressive phrases, the lines that most adequately voiced the deep, unconscious desires of the whole people, were remembered longest and repeated most frequently. There was, therefore, a process of natural selection by which the best, the most representative verses, those which most adequately expressed the profounder and more permanent moods and sentiments of the Negro, were preserved and became part of the permanent tradition of the race.

Negro melodies still spring up on the plantations of the South as they did in the days of slavery. The Negro is, like the Italian, an improviser, but the songs he produces today have not, so far as my knowledge goes, the quality of those he sang in slavery. The schools have introduced reading, and this, with the reflection which writing enforces, are destroying the folk-songs of the Negro, as they have those of other races.

Not only are the Negro folk-songs more primitive, in the sense I have indicated, than the folk-songs of other peoples with which

we are familiar, but the themes are different. The themes of the Scotch ballads are love and battles, the adventures and tragedies of a wild, free life. The Negro songs, those that he has remembered best, are religious and otherworldly.

It is a singular fact that very few secular songs, those which are referred to as "reel tunes," "fiddle songs," "corn songs," and "devil songs," for which slaves generally expressed a deep abhorrence, though many of them no doubt were used to stimulate them while in the fields, have been preserved while "shout songs" and other "speritchils" have been kept alive by the hundred.¹

If it is the plantation melodies that, by a process of natural selection, have been preserved in the traditions of the Negro people, it is probably because in these songs they found a free and natural expression of their unfulfilled desires. In the imagery of these songs, in the visions which they conjure up, in the themes which they again and again renew, we may discern the reflection of dawning racial consciousness, a common racial ideal.

The content of the Negro folk-songs has been made the subject of a careful investigation by Howard Odum in his *Study of the Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*.

The Negro's fancies of "Heaven's bright home" are scarcely exceeded by our fairy tales. There are silver and golden slippers, crowns of stars, jewels and belts of gold. There are robes of spotless white and wings all bejeweled with heavenly gems. Beyond the Jordan the Negro will outshine the sun, moon and stars. He will slip and slide the golden street and eat the fruit of the trees of paradise. . . . With rest and ease, with a golden band about him and with palms of victory in his hands and beautiful robes, the Negro will indeed be a happy being. . . . To find a happy home, to see all the loved ones and especially the Biblical characters, to see Jesus and the angels, to walk and talk with them, to wear robes and slippers as they do, and to *rest forever*, constitute the chief images of the Negro's heaven. He is tired of the world which has been a hell to him. Now on his knees, now shouting, now sorrowful and glad, the Negro comes from "hanging over hell" to die and "set by de Fadder's side!"²

In the imagery which the Negro chooses to clothe his hopes and dreams, we have, as in the musical idiom in which he expresses

¹ Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*, p. 16.

² Howard W. Odum, Ph.D., "Social and Mental Traits of the Negro," *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*. Edited by The Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, XXXVII (New York, 1910), 91.

them, reflections of the imagination and the temperament of Africa and the African. On the other hand, in the themes of this rude rhapsodical poetry, the House of Bondage, Moses, the Promised Land, Heaven, the apocalyptic visions of Freedom, but freedom confined miraculously and to another world, are the reflections of the Negro's experience in slavery.

The Negro's songs of slavery have been referred to by Du Bois in his *Souls of Blackfolk* as "sorrow songs," and other writers have referred to the fact that all the songs of the slaves were in a plaintive minor key. As a matter of fact, investigation has shown that actually less than 12 per cent of Negro songs are in a minor.¹ There are no other folk-songs, with the exception of those of Finland, of which so large a percentage are in the major mood. And this is interesting as indicating the racial temperament of the Negro. It tends to justify the general impression that the Negro is naturally sunny, cheerful, optimistic. It is true that the slave songs express longing, that they refer to hard trials and great tribulations, but the dominant mood is one of jubilation. "Going to sing, going to shout, going to play all over God's heaven."

Otherworldliness is not peculiar to the religion of the slave. It is a trait which the slave encountered in the religion of his master. But in the Negro's conception of religion it received a peculiar emphasis. In fact these ecstatic visions of the next world, which the Negro slave songs portrayed with a directness and simplicity that is at once quaint and pathetic, are the most significant feature of the Negro's songs of slavery.

It is interesting to note in this connection that nowhere in these songs do we discover the slightest references to Africa. They reflect no memories of a far-off happier land. Before the Negro gained his emancipation Africa had, so far as he was concerned, almost ceased to exist. Furthermore, the whole tone and emphasis of these songs and of all other religious expressions of the American Negro are in marked contrast with the tone and emphasis of African religious ideas. The African knew of the existence of another world but he was not interested in it. The world, as the African

¹ Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*.

understood it, was full of malignant spirits, diseases, and forces with which he was in constant mortal struggle. His religious practices were intended to gain for him immunity in this world rather than assurance of the next. But the Negro in America was in a different situation. He was not living in his own world. He was a slave, and that, aside from the physical inconvenience, implied a vast deal of inhibition. He was, moreover, a constant spectator of life in which he could not participate; excited to actions and enterprises that were forbidden to him because he was a slave. The restlessness which this situation provoked found expression, not in insurrection and rebellion—although of course there were Negro insurrections—but in his religion and in his dreams of another and freer world. I assume, therefore, that the reason the Negro so readily and eagerly took over from the white man his heaven and apocalyptic visions was because these materials met the demands of his peculiar racial temperament and furnished relief to the emotional strains that were provoked in him by the conditions of slavery.

So far as slavery was responsible for the peculiar individuality of the Negro's religion we should expect that the racial ideals and racial religion would take on another and different character under the influence of freedom. This, indeed, is what seems to me is taking place. New ideals of life are expressed in recent Negro literature and slowly and imperceptibly those ideas are becoming institutionalized in the Negro church and more particularly in the cultural ideals of the Negro school. But this makes another chapter in the history of Negro culture in America.

V. TEMPERAMENT, TRADITION, AND NATIONALITY

I have sought in this brief sketch to indicate the modifications, changes, and fortune which a distinctive racial temperament has undergone as a result of its encounters with an alien life and culture. This temperament, as I conceive it, consists in a few elementary but distinctive characteristics, determined by physical organizations and transmitted biologically. These characteristics manifest themselves in a genial, sunny, and social disposition, in an interest and attachment to external, physical things rather

than to subjective states and objects of introspection; in a disposition for expression rather than enterprise and action.

The changes which have taken place in the manifestations of this temperament have been actuated by an inherent and natural impulse, characteristic of all living beings, to persist and maintain itself in a changed environment. Such changes have occurred as are likely to take place in any organism in its struggle to live and to use its environment to further and complete its own existence.

The result has been that this racial temperament has selected out of the mass of cultural materials, to which it had access, such technical, mechanical, and intellectual devices as met its needs at a particular period of its existence. It has clothed and enriched itself with such new customs, habits, and cultural forms as it was able, or permitted to use. It has put into these relatively external things, moreover, such concrete meanings as its changing experience and its unchanging racial individuality demanded. Everywhere and always it has been interested rather in expression than in action; interested in life itself rather than in its reconstruction or reformation. The Negro is, by natural disposition, neither an intellectual nor an idealist, like the Jew; nor a brooding introspective, like the East Indian; nor a pioneer and frontiersman, like the Anglo-Saxon. He is primarily an artist, loving life for its own sake. His *métier* is expression rather than action. He is, so to speak, the lady among the races.

In reviewing the fortunes of the Negro's temperament as it is manifested in the external events of the Negro's life in America, our analysis suggests that this racial character of the Negro has exhibited itself everywhere in something like the rôle of the *wish* in the Freudian analysis of dream life. The external cultural forms which he found here, like the memories of the individual, have furnished the materials in which the racial wish, i.e., the Negro temperament, has clothed itself. The inner meaning, the sentiment, the emphasis, the emotional color, which these forms assumed as the result of their transference from the white man to the Negro, these have been the Negro's own. They have represented his temperament—his temperament modified, however, by his experience and the tradition which he has accumulated in

this country. The temperament is African, but the tradition is American.

I present this thesis merely as a hypothesis. As such its value consists in its suggestion of a point of view and program for investigation. I may, however, suggest some of the obvious practical consequences. If racial temperament, particularly when it gets itself embodied in institutions and in nationalities, i.e., social groups based upon race, is so real and obdurate a thing that education can only enrich and develop it but not dispose of it, then we must be concerned to take account of it in all our schemes for promoting naturalization, assimilation, Americanization, Christianization, and acculturation generally.

If it is true that the Jew, as has been suggested, just because of his intellectuality is a natural-born idealist, internationalist, doctrinaire, and revolutionist, while the Negro, because of his natural attachment to known familiar objects, places, and persons, is pre-adapted to conservatism and to local and personal loyalties—if these things are true, we shall eventually have to take account of them practically. It is certain that the Negro has uniformly shown a disposition to loyalty during slavery to his master and during freedom to the South and the country as a whole. He has maintained this attitude of loyalty, too, under very discouraging circumstances. I once heard Keely Miller, the most philosophical of the leaders and teachers of his race, say in a public speech that one of the greatest hardships the Negro suffered in this country was due to the fact that he was not permitted to be patriotic.

Of course all these alleged racial characteristics have a positive as well as a negative significance. Every race, like every individual, has the vices of its virtues. The question remains still to what extent so-called racial characteristics are actually racial, i.e., biological, and to what extent they are the effect of environmental conditions. The thesis of this paper, to state it again, is (1) that fundamental temperamental qualities, which are the basis of interest and attention, act as selective agencies and as such determine what elements in the cultural environment each race will

select; in what region it will seek and find its vocation in the larger social organization; (2) that, on the other hand, technique, science, machinery, tools, habits, discipline, and all the intellectual and mechanical devices with which the civilized man lives and works remain relatively external to the inner core of significant attitudes and values which constitute what we may call the will of the group. This racial will is, to be sure, largely social, that is, modified by social experience, but it rests ultimately upon a complex of inherited characteristics, which are racial.

It follows from what has been said that the individual man is the bearer of a double inheritance. As a member of a race, he transmits by interbreeding a biological inheritance. As a member of society or a social group, on the other hand, he transmits by communication a social inheritance. The particular complex of inheritable characters which characterizes the individuals of a racial group constitutes the racial temperament. The particular group of habits, accommodations, sentiments, attitudes, and ideals transmitted by communication and education constitute a social tradition. Between this temperament and this tradition there is, as has been generally recognized, a very intimate relationship. My assumption is that temperament is the basis of the interests; that as such it determines in the long run the general run of attention, and this, eventually, determines the selection in the case of an individual of his vocation, in the case of the racial group of its culture. That is to say, temperament determines what things the individual and the group will be interested in; what elements of the general culture, to which they have access, they will assimilate; what, to state it pedagogically, they will learn.

It will be evident at once that where individuals of the same race and hence the same temperament are associated, the temperamental interests will tend to reinforce one another, and the attention of members of the group will be more completely focused upon the specific objects and values that correspond to the racial temperament. In this way racial qualities become the basis for nationalities, a nationalistic group being merely a cultural and, eventually, a political society founded on the basis of racial inheritances.

On the other hand, when racial segregation is broken up and members of a racial group are dispersed, the opposite effect will take place. This explains the phenomena which have frequently been the subject of comment and observation, that the racial characteristics manifest themselves in an extraordinary way in large homogeneous gatherings. The contrast between a mass meeting of one race and a similar meeting of another is particularly striking. Under such circumstances characteristic racial and temperamental differences appear that would otherwise pass entirely unnoticed.

When the physical unity of a group is perpetuated by the succession of parents and children, the racial temperament, including fundamental attitudes and values which rest in it, is preserved intact. When, however, society grows and is perpetuated by immigration and adaptation, there ensues, as a result of miscegenation, a breaking up of the complex of the biologically inherited qualities which constitute the temperament of the race. This again initiates changes in the mores, traditions, and eventually in the institutions of the community. The changes which proceed from modification in the racial temperament will, however, modify but slightly the external forms of the social traditions, but they will be likely to change profoundly their content and meaning. Of course other factors, individual competition, the formation of classes, and especially the increase of communication, all co-operate to complicate the whole situation and to modify the effects which would be produced by racial factors working in isolation. All these factors must be eventually taken account of, in any satisfactory scheme of dealing with the problem of Americanization by education. This is, however, a matter for more complete analysis and further investigation.

I may, then, on the basis of the present discussion, venture one practical suggestion. It seems to me that the real problem of the foreigner, so far as education is concerned, is to devise means to transmit to him the content as well as the external form of American life. This would suggest that we should encourage the study of American history. This will help, no doubt. But America, in view of all the races and peoples which we have incor-

porated into our body politic, lies in the future rather than in the past. As the ends of the earth have come together in America, we have become, against our wills, a world's melting-pot. For us the international situation has now become a domestic problem. It would, therefore, seem quite as important that we should, through schools and in the course of the educational process, make ourselves acquainted with the heritages and backgrounds of the foreign peoples, as it is important that immigrants should become acquainted with our national history. So far as Americanization is undertaken by the schools, effort should be directed, it would seem, toward maintaining and creating a mutual understanding among our peoples rather than toward perpetrating, as we have been disposed to do in the past, a sentimental and ceremonial patriotism based on a reverent and uncritical contemplation of our national heritages which, as compared with those of other peoples, the Jews, for example, are not likely to impress the unbiased outsider as having great value.

SOCIOLOGY IN THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS

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The art of teaching, like any other art, needs the guidance of science. Teaching is a social process. It would seem, therefore, that in the education of teachers sociology, as the science of the social processes, must be of fundamental importance. The curricula for the training of teachers, however, rarely give it a prominent place; they often give it a minor place and in many of the smaller schools it has no place at all. Why this discrepancy between what is and what, apparently, ought to be?

Investigations have been in progress for the past nine years on just this matter. Since 1913 the investigation has been carried on under the auspices, first, of this Society, then of the National Education Association, and finally of the United States Bureau of Education. The findings up to 1914 are already in print.¹ A manuscript report, tracing the progress in the normal schools to 1917 and giving data for 146 schools, is now in the hands of the Bureau.

The number of normal schools ascertained to have sociology in their curricula has grown as follows:

Year	Number of Schools
1896.....	2
1904.....	5
1909.....	26
1910.....	40
1913.....	50
1915.....	73
1917.....	100

The distribution of the schools has changed. They were formerly mostly in the North Central and Northwestern states.

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, XVI, 253-65; *Publications, American Sociological Society*, VIII, 120-30; IX, 176-83; *Proceedings, National Education Association*, 1914, pp. 559-64.

In 1917 the State Board of Education of California made a half-year of applied sociology a requirement for all students in the normal schools of that state. Some form of sociology is now usually given in the normal schools of the western two-thirds of the country, or, more exactly, west of Lake Huron, the Wabash River, and the lower Mississippi. East of that line sociology is taught in some of the normal schools of all of the states except perhaps seven.

Inquiring next about the kind of work done, we find that not over one-third of the 146 schools give what would be recognized as sociology in the stricter sense, that is, with at least a core of related principles. The other one-third give a wide variety of work under the name of sociology. In many the class studies the problems of the day, making large use of the current periodicals. Over a score of schools have classes in "rural sociology." "Educational sociology" was reported from six in 1917, and has been adopted by others since. One school reports "a 50-hour course called sociology, with Carver's *Rural Economics* as a text." Another: "Sociology is offered in the history department, based on selected chapters in Dewey and Tufts' *Ethics*."

Clearly, therefore, sociology as the science of the social processes does not occupy a fundamental place in the curricula of normal schools. There is, however, a growing emphasis on the social phases of education. The one-third of the schools which have nothing under the name of sociology show this; some of them have carefully planned arrangements for making the teacher-to-be acquainted with the social setting in which he is to do his work.

In regard to the universities, with their departments and schools of education, such information as I have been able to gather recently does not indicate any decided change from the situation which was found four years ago. In Harvard University candidates for the doctor's degree in education are required to have taken a course in the principles of sociology. At the University of Minnesota the College of Education is "considering seriously making a course in general sociology a prerequisite," along with general psychology, for admission in the Junior year, "and undoubtedly will do this in time." In the Teachers College of Columbia

University the students registered for 582 studies in other departments during the year ending June, 1917, and 54 of these were in the department of sociology. The replies from several other universities are well represented by the following from the University of Chicago:

A number of our candidates for the doctor's degree take sociology as a minor subject and find it very helpful in connection with their work in education. I have never felt that the content of educational sociology is clearly enough defined to make it a separate subject distinct from school administration and other topics of that type which are now covered by our program.

The situation here set forth suggests four questions which we who work in schools for the education of teachers feel like pressing for an answer.

i. *Can the confusion of views and usages concerning the nature and scope of sociology be cleared up?* This Society, as some of you may remember, made an effort in 1909 and 1910 to come to agreement about the content of the beginning course in sociology in colleges and universities; but the result was meager except to reveal differences. To university professors these differences may be stimulating, but to the lay mind and to anyone who is trying to make a practical application of sociology they are baffling. Here are the testimonies of four normal-school presidents:

In geography, and especially in pedagogy, we give a great deal of prominence to the study of sociology.

We really teach the subject-matter of sociology all through our curricula, but do not call it by that name.

Permit me to be somewhat dogmatic and terse in saying that there is nothing planned for sociology that is not planned for history. I do not understand sociology to be a definite and exclusive science. Society is not clearly defined.

We had sociology in our curriculum, but now do the work in economics, in history, and in government better, we think.

These are the words of men of great influence. Every year each one of them sends out hundreds of young teachers into the public schools of the country. If it is desirable that the public should have clearer conceptions about sociology, the university professors must first formulate them.

The next question is only a specific example of the foregoing.

2. *Shall it be regarded as correct usage to label as sociology any treatment of the social phases of life?* I have in mind especially the use of the terms "educational sociology" and "rural sociology" to designate courses for which a knowledge of the principles of sociology is not a prerequisite. While work of great value has been done under these titles, we wonder if we are also to have "church sociology" and "oriental sociology" and "mediaeval sociology." For the progress of science, perhaps, terminology is a light matter, but for education it is a weighty matter. The university man slowly builds his conceptions of matters related to his specialty, and then coins terms or makes definitions to fit his conceptions; but the young person in school meets a strange word, goes to the dictionary, encyclopedia, or textbook for a definition, and then makes his conception offhand from the definition, though of course he will modify it later.

A science needs an accurate terminology in order to be widely useful. In other words, it must be standardized, at least the parts which are destined for practical application. But all of this is part of a still larger question which I submit next.

3. *Is sociology sufficiently mature to be ready for practical application?* Perhaps this movement to make sociology a foundation for education is premature. "An authoritative body of social theory," wrote Professor Ross in 1905, "exists at present as aspiration rather than fact."¹ Perhaps that is still true; perhaps it will always be true and our efforts can never come to fruition. A normal-school president put it this way in one of our questionnaires:

I sadly suspect that sociology is yet in the diaper-stage, and possibly it is feeble-minded and will never get any older. There have been apparently many efforts to define it, but whether the definition is wholly in words without meaning or whether there is no meaning, I am unable to fathom.

If there be no science of sociology, if sociology be simply a name for anything that anybody has to say about social life, or if it be only never-ending speculation without responsibility for any vital activity in which principles are put to the test, then the travail the educational world has passed through during the last

¹ *Foundations of Sociology*, Preface.

twenty years to produce a socialized education must go on as it started—under the ministrations of the psychologists. Or else education must rely on itself and develop its social principles out of its own experience. Each form of social work will then have a sociology of its own; educational sociology and rural sociology are independent studies with a vista of others trailing up after them. If the normal schools, for instance, need more standardization of terminology relating to social matters, "the teachers in such institutions," as one university professor wrote me recently, "must do it themselves," notwithstanding the fact that they nearly always lack the equipment for doing it properly—a matter about which I speak from experience.

But I do not so despair of sociology. The efforts of theological seminaries, schools of philanthropy, schools of business, and schools of education to employ sociological theory as an instrument for the analysis of any kind of social situation, or as a master-key to all of their treasure houses, are destined, I still believe, to result in success.¹ Such success awaits standardization, and that—again expressing merely my own opinion—the university professors will yet give us; they—some of them—will come to the aid of the schools that educate social workers and trim down the far-ramifying sociological theory to the shape of a tool which these workers can be easily trained to use. If the professors lose some of their freedom in the process it will be only the kind of freedom which the pioneer loses when he sees the trail which he has blazed become a highway; their usefulness, like his, will thereby be increased a hundred fold.

Standardization, to some minds, is a great bugaboo. But it need not be such. The objector need not concede one iota of his differences. If he accepts the standard form for what it is, namely, an adjustment in the interest of technology, he may then follow

¹ In my class every student works on some group or institution with which he is familiar—his practice class, if he has one, or his boarding club, literary society, church, family, neighborhood. As we advance through the principles of sociology he applies them to his own special group and writes a sociological analysis of it by instalments. In this way sociological theory comes to him as an instrument for practical use rather than as a body of doctrine for the delectation of scholars.

it or vary from it as suits his own purposes; it is merely a new line from which all may take a fresh start.

Education needs a few sociologists of first rank to help along the correlation between education and sociology somewhat as William James, Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and their collaborators did between education and psychology, following up in this respect the beginning made by Herbart and other early psychologists. What sociologists will likewise follow up the beginning which was made by Herbert Spencer?

4. *Is the time ripe for a general treatise on sociology which will select, condense, simplify, and unify the best thought of the time?* In such wise, I take it, the needed standardization will come rather than by the legislative act of this society. I have been telling my students for ten years that the time is ripe, and so invoking their patience as they seek the agreements among the jangling authorities. I speak my expectation in this presence with the hope that it may reach the one who is toiling at that treatise and encourage him to persevere, or the young student who is in training for the writing of it and lead him to consecrate his life to the task, saying to himself, perhaps, in the words of another who felt a call to a great work: "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world." At the same time every one who essays the task should realize that the successful treatise will be the survivor among many failures.

That treatise, when it comes, will be used by college sophomores for the beginning course in sociology, and will be a required study in the education of teachers and all other social workers. It will come, of course, as the work of one man, but meanwhile we are all helping to determine its character.

THE VOCATIONAL CONCEPT

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There is a more or less vague idea pervading the educational and popular thought of the United States that the school system is responsible for fitting the young for definite callings. This idea represents the vocational conception in education in its wider and cruder form. A narrower and more definite notion would have the educational system organized about the thought of training for a vocation. For the purpose of this discussion it is only necessary to recognize in the vocational concept the thought of training for a calling.

The popular conception of vocational education is represented in industrial education. However, the vocational concept is necessarily sufficiently wide to include every sort of training which fits for a calling. It is the whole scheme of education which includes explicit training for industry, commerce, agriculture, household economy, and the professions.

Stating the idea in terms of society, the vocational concept is that idea of education which posits society responsible for training its members to function, and to function efficiently for their own good and that of society through and by means of some of its essential callings. Notwithstanding the various opinions as to what vocational education really is, there is an undoubted consensus of opinion that society through its educational system is under obligation to give human beings the specialized technic for making a living; and many educators further believe that this should be done in such a way that those trained may be able to experience the joy of work and the richness of life and to exercise the duties of citizenship.

STRUCTURAL CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

There are doubtless many ways to denote the constitution of society. We may see its constitution in its structural framework,

that is, its institutions and organizations; in the ordering of individuals relative to each other respecting authority, subordination, prestige, freedom of movement and speech, and equalization of opportunity; in the ethnical character of its population; in the dominancy of some set of institutions relative to the others, making society industrial, militant, etc.; in its stage of cultural evolution.

Without raising the question as to whether all of these ways of regarding the constitution of society are true indexes of the social constitution or whether any one of them is a truer index than the others, I desire to proceed to the consideration of certain of these in their relation to the vocational concept. I hope to show that vocational education is demanded by the structural and by the democratic character of society, and that social safety requires a close supervision of industrial education by the state.

**TECHNICAL CHARACTER OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES DEMANDS
VOCATIONAL TRAINING**

If we regard social structures with reference to their technical nature we are warranted in concluding that this aspect of the constitution of society makes demands for vocational education. To bring the treatment of this phase of the subject within the compass of this paper, the argument will take the form of a series of propositions.

1. The essential framework of society is constituted of the great institutional groups or classes of structures. These institutions are commonly known as the industrial, political, religious, educational, and domestic. They do not represent the whole of society nor all of the classes of structure, but all recognize them as the chief elements of the social framework. These institutions are interlocking sets of interests and as functional groups of activities they perform the great divisions of labor of society.

2. These structures of society are made up of technic. While it is often stated that they are made up of people, it appears that technic more truly represents their character; for the people are ephemeral; they come and go, while the structures endure; further, it is only when people think and act that they function institu-

tionally. By social technic is understood psychical or physical activities of individuals, or both, such activities being so organized relative to each other that they occur in a fixed order. Thus, housekeeping consists of a series of mental and physical operations of a set nature and which occur day after day. It is evident also that belonging to a family consists of an established way of eating, sleeping, performing certain duties, and relating one's self to the other members of the family. The religious life has its technic of ordered beliefs, prayers, ceremonials, worship. Orthodoxy makes it imperative that the elements of belief and ritual must be conceived and executed in a set relationship relative to each other. The doctrine of salvation is an organon of ideas to be assimilated and believed in a certain way; and each religious sect requires strict adherence to its method of baptism, reception of sacrament, justification, and so on. No one doubts that industrial structures consist of technical operations; and some analytic thinking will make it clear that other institutions are likewise composed and constituted.

3. Each member of society, sufficiently mature and normal, may master and use a minimum of the technic of all kinds of institutions. This is one reason why the structures are interlocking. All persons participate to some extent in industry, political, and religious life, get some education, and are members of a family.

4. But each member of society, with the exception of the immature, the dependent classes, and wealthy parasites, commands a maximum—a considerable portion—of the technic of some of the social structures. The operation of this technic constitutes his major activities and his life-contribution to society. This is his vocation, and as compared with this, his activities in other structures are somewhat incidental. It is proper to speak of such a person as a specialist relative to his structure and as a layman in the other structures. It is this specialization which makes a member of society productive, which gives him social gravity, and which enables him to maintain a fighting and sustaining foothold in society. Only such a person is able really to function in society, persons without such a specialization being socially functionless.

5. The going ability of society, its power to hold its own, not to say advance, is dependent on those who are specialized in the technic of some of its fundamental structures. Consider what the industrial system would be without the managers, inventors, scientists, skilled workmen, and even the unskilled workmen, who, it is to be noted, have a command of a respectable body of technical knowledge and skill. Or consider what religion would be without its ministry, the schools without their teachers and administrators, the family without the mothers, the political life of the nation without officers and trained agents of many sorts. This all sounds simple and trite, yet it is too often overlooked and needs setting down.

6. The command and exercise of the major technic, the specialized activities, by individuals comprise the bulk of the total social energy expended by the adult members of society. This may be estimated by the census facts. The census reports that over half the population of the United States ten years of age and over is engaged in gainful occupations. But this does not include that great body of females who are engaged in household enterprises in their own homes. It is safe to say that 75 per cent of our population is engaged in specialized callings for ten hours or more each day. Their social activities outside these callings must represent but a small part of the expenditure of their life-force. Further, it is to be noted that industrial callings form the bulk of the energy expended in callings. If we should reckon household work and management as industrial, in the sense that it is a part of material production, this truth is all the more outstanding. This is an important consideration, because industrial and domestic education comprise such a large part of vocational education.

7. There is no indication that society is to become less specialized in its character. In fact, just the opposite appears to be true. The growth of specialization during the past century exceeded that of milleniums of social evolution previously. Only were science and invention to cease developing, might it be possible to think that further societal specialization would not occur. As it is, we must expect the appearance of other callings and the employment of a larger proportion of the population in productive

and vocational callings. Perhaps only in the field of factory industry does increased specialization demand of individuals a mastery of a smaller body of technic than formerly. Otherwise the explorations of science create out of every apparently small specialty a veritable cosmos of facts and principles on the mastery of which the calling rests. The instance of the shrunken technical requirement of machine-tenders constitutes a social and educational problem, in itself a chapter in the special problem of vocational education.

8. On the basis of the thought that society is an organized unity of highly specialized structures, each consisting of a technic to be mastered, it becomes evident that an educational system which ostensibly prepares the individual for a functional life in society must take cognizance of the fact. Training for society must involve equipping the individual to participate in the social process, and participating in the social process means the adjustment of the individual to society through and by means of the actual agencies and structures society has developed.

The assumption of state education is that its training is necessary for citizenship, that is, for social utility and membership. But since the individual cannot be a useful and valid member of society unless he can identify himself with its constitution, and since society is fundamentally specialized and technical in its nature, the inevitable conclusion is that the making of citizens involves vocationalizing individuals through the educational process.

DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Societies may be said to differ constitutionally according to the degree to which they are pervaded by democracy and aristocracy. The popular conception associates democracy and aristocracy exclusively with the political system. There is a close and vital connection between them and the form of government a state maintains, for the political institutions are largely the product of the social life, and, consequently, are fairly representative of that life. Nevertheless it is possible for a national society to possess a large degree of popular control over governmental

matters and at the same time be socially stratified to the point of a graduated caste system. It is also evident that a national society may possess a high degree of political equality, while in its industrial system or in some of its ecclesiastical systems the most extreme forms of autocracy prevail. Up to the present moment there have been no thoroughgoing democracies and, it may be added, there will not be until the principle of democracy is realized in the make-up of each and all of the great institutions. And, as I see it, complete democracy consists in making all the channels of opportunity and achievement open and free from arbitrary and artificial obstacles.

One of the demands arising out of democracy is the right each individual has of equipping himself or of being equipped by society for some productive and supporting calling. The previous treatment sought to show that the structural constitution of society places an imperative upon individuals to specialize their ability in the direction of some vocation. It was found that if they are to function in society and to function fruitfully they must be put in possession of the technic of some of the social structures. That expresses the social necessity of vocational education. The argument here is that, in view of this imperative of the social situation, the ideals of democracy invest the individual with the *right* to demand training for a vocation. The average individual is not in a position to secure this necessary equipment for and of himself. The educational machinery and processes are under the control of superindividual agencies. If they do not give vocations, then the individual cannot be educated for a vocation except by a pick-up and hit-or-miss method. The logic of the situation, then, clearly is that the nature of society demands specialization of individuals, that the principle of democracy requires that society shall recognize the right of individuals to receive such specialization, and that, since society maintains and controls educational agencies, vocational education must be incorporated into the educational system.

This paper is more immediately and primarily concerned with the logic of the situation and is not directly concerned with the important question relative to the stage at which such specialized

training should begin. However, it is well to point out that the state school system, if it is an agency of democracy and justice, must provide a competent vocational training for the great masses of children, that is, for the 90 or 95 per cent. The majority of the children leave school too early to receive such training profitably. It is therefore the duty of society to work out an educational and social economy whereby such training is placed within their reach. I may say that the indications are that, in order to attain this universal vocationalization, society must undertake an extensive investment for making secondary education compulsory and general.

But if democracy demands vocational education as the right of all individuals, it also insists that this education be given in a manner to insure the safety and development of democracy. Democracy can be maintained only where it is social, and social democracy denotes a scheme of life in which opportunities have a wide and free scope; where the avenues of ascent to the successive stories of achievement are free and accessible; where ideas and experience have the fullest freedom of circulation, creating the basis of a recognition of common interests; and where the place and function of social agencies and organizations are so clearly distinguished as to guarantee their utilization for the common good. Any agency which encourages the creation of closed classes operates toward the formation of a feudal system where accident rather than capacity and attainments determine success and the rewards of life. Democracy is the right of all human beings to participate in the enjoyment of the essential goods and joys of life and to control the social agencies by which those satisfactions are distributed among men. A condition of this is a large command of information, especially a knowledge of the social system by which the satisfactions of life are mediated to individuals. It is no accident that democracies have insisted on education, for democracy must be reborn every generation. With the vast extent of society and its intricate nature it is a gigantic task to bestow anything like a competent intelligence of community matters on the masses. Nevertheless, this is perhaps the greatest imperative of the age.

Since industrial education is so extensive a part of vocational education, it will be useful to note some of the undemocratic features in industry which industrial education must not be allowed to intensify but, if possible, be made to counteract. We shall have space to barely list some of these features: The tendency among the industrial workers to fall apart into crystallized social classes along lines of skilled and unskilled, and among the skilled workers to stratify along lines of various gradations of skill and position, with an accompanying class consciousness of superiority and inferiority; the wide chasm between the employing and the employed with the equivalent social distinctions; the gulf between those who spend without earning and those who earn but a bare subsistence; the autocratic system of business management in which conditions of labor and emoluments of the workers are wholly determined by those who invest capital while those who invest their lives are voiceless. Besides these there is the mechanical and dulling effects of machine industry on the workers; the tendency of machine movements, when learned by the operator, to submerge and overwhelm his individual habits and thoughts, to make of him an automaton not only while at work but to render him incapable of responding to new calls and situations.

These features of industry make it imperative that a vocational system of education be worked out which shall place a premium on bestowing a developed calling rather than a mere trade; that shall arouse a working intelligence concerning the industrial system and the workers' relation to it; and that shall develop inventiveness and responsiveness to new situations. In order to be able to achieve these minimum requirements the system of vocational education developed must not be a mere replica of the factory.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Whatever else their foundations, modern states are determined by economic conditions to a very large degree. One of the concerns of statesmen is to encourage and safeguard the fullest industrial development of their nation. That they do not always succeed in securing the utmost welfare and safety of their states

by the policies they adopt history makes very evident. The great classes of defeated and crushed individuals existing everywhere in the midst of plenty in all our modern nations is evidence enough of this. The cause of this may be adherence and favoritism to class privilege, partisanship, or incapacity; but it is quite likely to be due to the inability they have, along with social scientists, to analyze society into its causal conditions, to determine the directions the currents flow, and to know what agencies will serve as effective stimulants, guides, and checks. Selfishness is likely to be blind to the common good, but one dislikes to think that any considerable number of statesmen are so base as to will the destruction of their nation because of a desire to realize mere individual or class ambitions. Even a mighty class dominating a state is likely to think it will be able, by its policy, to lead the nation out into a larger and more glorious life at the same time its own cause is being furthered.

There are two respects, pertinent to our theme, in which statesmen have in the past adopted and in future are likely to adopt a mistaken and mischievous policy relative to the development of industry and industrialism. The first is the adoption of a policy which regards industrial laborers as mere means to an end, as pawns in the great game of national development, and who, consequently, fail to perceive the need of establishing those conditions of work and employment which will realize for the workers the joy and blessings of work. It is said that industry demands thousands of hands fit to perform the same manipulations with machine-like precision hour by hour, day after day, and year after year. No doubt industry does make such a requirement, since it is founded and operative on a division of labor. But industry is not the object of society. The first aim of society is the securing of justice; and the securing of justice involves the equalization of conditions, amongst which is the enlargement of cultural experience and the development of ability to use it for the emancipation and uplift of the human spirit. Whenever industry persists in disregarding this aim it becomes a menace not only to the state but ultimately to itself as well. Any state that is ruled exclusively or chiefly for the lust of gain without

regard to the machine slaves its money buys is doomed to final ruin.

It is consequently essential that the state should intervene to provide a system of industrial education which will correct the tendency inherent in industry and shortsighted state policies. It is to be remembered that some form of industrial education is imperative and that it is bound to come either under private or public initiative. This much is just as certain as that the masses of people will continue to work. It is therefore the duty of the state to provide a form of industrial education which shall safeguard the interests of society, those of the workers, and the ultimate interests of industry itself. The situation doubtless requires that a thoroughgoing study of industry shall be undertaken for the purpose of discovering the injurious and undemocratic elements in industry which a form of industrial education might evade or overcome.

Another error to which statesmen, along with others, are subject relative to the development of industry consists in maintaining a system of industrial education that reduces the workers to a peasant class without an intelligent interest in the welfare of the state. As a consequence, the state becomes an instrument dominated by the industrial and financial classes and both its domestic and its foreign policy are dominated and shaped by those classes. As a consequence of this situation, there develops, what European writers call, the "tentacled" state, a state which reaches out its arms, octopus-like, into all the lands of the earth for markets and investments and which builds gigantic military establishments, develops espionage systems, and maintains subverted home and foreign publicity agencies to protect and gain its ends. The foreign policy of such a state comes to dominate its domestic policy to such an extent that home consumers are sacrificed to the widening of foreign markets, registered in the fact that manufactured articles are sent abroad and sold in competing markets at sometimes one-half the price charged home consumers. Protective tariffs are established in favor of its own privileged producers and the wage-earners are lulled into support of the tariff by the administration of the soothing but deceptive potion of "higher wages." Imperialistic ambitions arise as an associated phenomenon of this

development, chiefly as a consequence, and a lust for world-domination possesses the ruling classes, who shrewdly foster this "glorious" object throughout the nation under the disguised doctrine of the rights of the superior race and culture to rule.

One of the great nations of the world has completed the gamut of this evolution, has plunged the whole world into a ruthless war, and today, while this is being written, after soliciting her opponents for peace terms, is met by the demand that she democratize her government before peace terms will be discussed. But Germany is only the more extreme example of the development and consequence of a state passing under the yoke of economic imperialism. Other nations, some opposing Germany in the war, have gone far in the same direction, and gigantic forces are at work in the United States to convert our nation into a full-grown "tentacled" state.

All this may, at first, seem remote from vocational education, yet it touches the major portion, namely, industrial education. For if a state is really democratic, its government and its policy are subservient to the opinion and will of the majority of its citizens. And since the industrial workers of our nation constitute a very large percentage of the citizenry, what they think and are capable of concluding has a vital bearing on governmental policy. In view of the evolution of Germany and the undoubted complacent support of Germany's national policy of economic imperialism by its narrowly educated industrial classes, the conclusion is not without warrant that the safety of the United States lies, in part, in the establishment of a system of industrial education which involves a far larger content than the technical side of a vocation. Industrial workers must be educated to develop power of thinking, to acquire an adequate body of information on which thought may work, and to attain an understanding of the nature and working of the community of which they are a part. *This is not done and will not be done in trade schools administered apart from and independent of the public-school system.* Such separate schools are bound to be dominated by industrialism and the idea of profit. Only schools which the country as a whole and the state as a whole shape and guide can be safe training places for American citizens.

SOCIAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS THROUGH GROUP ACTIVITIES

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The essence of education, regardless of the verbiage with which we attempt to explain or conceal it, lies in growth. It includes whatever stimulus, physical, mental, or moral, we apply to the unfolding personality. This stimulus or cultivation may be the result of careful selection and painstaking application of social machinery, or it may be merely the incidental product of social inheritance applied through the ordinary channels of social pressure. The one type is deliberate and formal, or telic, the other, incidental and informal. We ordinarily think of formal education as fully institutionalized and as mainly embodied in school systems, while informal education is the product of social forces embodied in the environment of the individual to be educated. Thus we speak of the education of the schools and the education of life without the schools, the growth inspired by specific teaching, and the expansion of the personality through educationally undifferentiated experience.

This distinction, however, leaves much to be desired. All of the education of experience, of life outside the schools, is not accidental or even incidental. Much of it, such as trade and business apprenticeship, religious formulary and biblical precept, fraternal ritual, social form and fundamental moral principles, are taught deliberately by the business firm, the church, the fraternal organization, social assemblies, and the family circle. Moreover, by no means all of the cultural stimulus of the schools is the result of deliberate planning or of the use of recognized educational materials. It may be pertinent to raise the question as to whether or not the most valuable part of school education is found in the formal phases of school organization and work. Certainly an analysis of educational history or of the testimony of the graduates of famous schools would justify such a query.

Probably the terms whose connotation best fits the distinction we have in mind are curricular and extra-curricular education. Under curricular education we include the training gained directly from the formal school machinery, such as classroom instruction, the systematized materials of the textbooks, and the supplementary use of the school equipment of libraries, laboratories, etc. Under extra-curricular education would be included the remaining educational stimuli of life in the school environment embodied in both inchoate and definite school organization. Since the problems of the elementary school, the high school, the college, and the graduate and professional schools differ so widely that, even though similar principles might apply, a specific discussion demands delimitation; and since the writer has elsewhere considered some of the general educative values of social heredity, it seems wise to confine the present discussion to the extra-curricular influences during the undergraduate college course.

The average student enters college between the ages of eighteen and twenty. He comes from a high school in his native town, with a restricted outlook on life, filled with the insular prejudices of his home and community environment. He is for the first time put upon his own responsibility and is compelled to adapt himself to his new surroundings, economically, socially, intellectually, and morally. His life at home and at school has largely been regulated for him. If he chance to come from a preparatory academy the conditions are not materially different because the regulations of the academy are specific, insular, and paternal. As a college Freshman he must find his way, with only a modicum of guidance, through the maze of new experiences that awaits him. The question to be faced is, therefore, just what are the molding influences that transform this callow youth into the broader, more mature, and more cultivated man who emerges four years later with his bachelor's degree?

As college teachers it would not behoove us to minimize the value of the direct work we do. It is important and little enough appreciated, either by the student or the public. The youth is ignorant and needs to be taught. He is slovenly in his thinking and needs to be directed. He is reckless in his habits and needs

to be checked up. He is opinionated and intolerant and needs to be shocked and shamed out of his narrowness. Much of this we can do through curricular activities, but not all. Without the aid of that subtle and intangible thing we call the school atmosphere, for which the teacher is only partially responsible, without the compelling power of the social pressure of student opinion, for which the teacher is partially responsible, and without the stimulus of student activities dominated almost wholly by the students themselves, our efforts would beat in vain against the mental habits and social traditions imbedded during the previous eighteen or twenty years of the youth's experience and training. While the college teacher should not undervalue the results of his direct teaching it is essential that he realize its limitations; and, so general is the evidence that it would seem to develop a principle, the more frankly he recognizes the limitations of his classroom instruction by encouraging extra-curricular interests the more sure he is to be able to succeed in doing effective classroom work.

The contrast between curricular and extra-curricular influences, between college teaching and college life, was drawn by Cardinal Newman more than half a century ago:

If I had to choose between a so-called university, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years since, if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect the more successful in training, molding, and enlarging the mind, which sent out men more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving preference to that university which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun. And, paradox as this may seem, still if results be the test of systems, the influence of the public schools and colleges of England in the course of the last century at least, will bear out one side of the contrast as I have drawn it.

The educative value of this mere residence together Newman explained as follows:

When a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant, as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other,

they are sure to learn one from another, even if there be no one to teach them; the conversation of all is a series of lectures to each, and they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles for judging and acting day by day. . . . A parallel teaching is necessary for our social being, and it is secured by a large or a small college; and this effect may be fairly called in its own department an enlargement of mind. It is seeing the world on a small field with little trouble; for the students come from very different places, and with widely different notions, and there is much to generalize, much to adjust, much to eliminate, there are interrelations to be defined, and conventional rules to be established, in the process by which the whole assemblage is molded together, and gains one tone and one character.¹

Since Newman's day there has been no better statement of the values of college residence as distinguished from college teaching, but there have been thousands of echoes of the same sentiment. Nor can there be any question of the correctness of his historical perspective. What was true of English universities was true of other universities as well. The mediaeval university was largely a place of residence where scholars of various nationalities assembled, formed themselves into a guild or corporation, and governed themselves. Certain lectures were given, some tutorial drill was established, and more or less classroom dialectic was practiced; but the chief influences upon the student came from the group pressure of like-minded scholarly men upon each other. Even since Newman's day there has been no real revolution in English or Continental universities. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Paris, and of Germany are today as much places of mere scholastic residence where students of various kinds consort with each other as they are places for instruction and examination. And it may be further remarked in this connection that much of the weakness of the German people as contrasted with the German government and much of the supineness of the German populace as contrasted with the intelligent strength of the popular morale in allied countries is due to a lack in Germany of collegiate *esprit de corps* and the absence of a carefully cultivated democratic and virile student life either in the German gymnasia or the universities.

The early American college was founded upon the English model, and in the restricted atmosphere of small institutions the

¹ Discourses on University Teaching, reprinted in Fulton's *College Life*.

contact between teacher and student was so direct that the personality of the teacher had a powerful influence upon the shaping of student life and character. It was not less the inspiration of personal contact outside the classroom than their ability as teachers that made such men as Mark Hopkins, President Dwight, and Louis Agassiz such powerful influences in the lives of young men.

The American university came into existence with the founding of Johns Hopkins, and German educational ideals began to take the place of English. A new and much enlarged clientèle with less cultivated antecedents and less studious tempers but with more vigorous physiques and more varied ambitions entered collegiate circles. The elective system came into being and research became the university watchword. Many teachers began to conceive their mission in terms of investigations and contributions to the sum total of human knowledge rather than in the passing on of existing knowledge to the student. Large classes required the use of lecture-room methods and a definite cleavage arose between the work of the classroom and the extra-curricular life of the students. Consequently many young men who were not studiously inclined, and many of the ablest were not studious, lost interest in college instruction and devoted their energies to various student activities. The attitude of many of these was typified in the motto Dr. Slosson a decade ago found on the walls of so many student rooms: "Don't let your studies interfere with your education."

This period of intense specialization on the part of faculty members, coupled with the fact that many students of the new type were not primarily interested in scholarship, led to a period of semi-chaos which endangered the real mission of the undergraduate college. All sorts of extra-curricular interests, athletic, social, literary, were developed by the faculties. As a result we had a carnival of wild athletic, fraternity, dramatic, and journalistic crudities and excesses leading to internal turmoil and external criticism. Too many members of college and university faculties felt that their work was done when they delivered their more or less recondite lectures and too many students felt that proper educational growth could be obtained with a minimum amount of

systematic study. In recent years this chaos has been mitigated by qualifying the free elective system, cutting down the size of classes, requiring more regular attendance on classroom exercises, and differentiating more or less definitely between the teaching function and the research function of college and university professors; but more than all else in effectiveness has been the closing of the gap between teacher and student by developing sympathetic faculty supervision of student enterprises. It is a subtle tribute to the values of extra-curricular activities to find that as the college professor enters sympathetically into student enterprises he not only extends the reach of his personality influence, but he gains added respect for the educative force of interstudent emulation, co-operation, and competition. The cloistered professor scoffs from his lecture-room at the "side shows" of education, but when he sees the discipline of the athletic field, the diligence of the college journal's office, and the research of the college debate, he remains to pray for something of the same hold upon the energies and enthusiasm of youth that will give his department an equal power in molding the future lives of his students.

With the growth of a saner psychology and particularly with the development of sociology there has come a recognition that it is the intimate face-to-face association of like-minded people that produces the greatest effect on the growing personality. Social pressure varies directly with the frankness and intimacy of this association and inversely with the intricacy and opaqueness of the media of communication. Thus the contacts of youth with youth within the student body, where the individuals possess differing ideas but similar ideals and ambitions, form an intensity of stimulus which cannot be equaled by the more distant and indirect contacts of student and professor, hedged about as they are by convention and formalized by lecture-room methods. It is this intimacy of interstudent relationships, fostered by direct and transparent means of communication, that leads the college graduate to look back so fondly on his undergraduate life and recall not so much his classroom joys and sorrows as his experiences in the give-and-take of college life. It is not what he learned but what he grew into within the shadow of his Alma Mater that counts. This fact was

recognized by Woodrow Wilson in his Phi Beta Kappa address of 1909, in which he said:

Many of the parents of our modern undergraduates will frankly tell you that what they want for their sons is not so much what they will get in the classroom as something else, which they are at a loss to define, which they will get from the associations of college life; and many more would say the same thing if they were equally ingenious. College graduates will tell you without shame or regret, within ten years of their graduation, that they remember practically nothing of what they learned in the classroom; and they will tell you in the very same breath that they would not have lost what they did get in college for anything in the world; and men who did not have the chance to go to college will everywhere be found to envy them, perceiving that college-bred men have something which they have not.

Again in the same address he says:

College is a place of initiation. Its effects are atmospheric. They are wrought by impression, by association, by emulation. The voices which do not penetrate beyond the doors of the classroom are lost, are ineffectual, are void of consequence and power. No thought will obtain or live there for the transmission of which the prevailing atmosphere is a non-conducting medium. Contact, companionship, familiar intercourse is the law of life for the mind.

And again:

The real intellectual life of a body of undergraduates, if there be any, manifests itself, not in the classroom, but in what they do and talk of and set before themselves as their favorite objects between classes and lectures. You will see the true life of a college in the evenings, at the dinner table or beside the fire in the groups that gather and the men that go off eagerly to their work, where youths get together and let themselves go upon their favorite themes.¹

Before proceeding to further detail it is necessary to recall that it is impossible to draw a definite line of demarcation between faculty and student influence in determining the nature of college life. Unquestionably formal college organization and curricular instruction play no inconsiderable part in shaping extra-curricular activities and influences. Twenty years ago there was, in our larger institutions, a fairly definite cleavage between faculty enterprises and student enterprises; but with the assumption of faculty supervision of athletics, faculty sponsorship of fraternity and social life, and faculty regulation of literary activities such as college debates and student publications, many of the old-time bases of

¹ *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, reprinted in N. Foerster's "Essays for College Men."

faculty-student contact and co-operation have been restored. The only grounds of distinction remaining are the sources of initiative, control, and vitalizing spirit in the various organizations and associations of undergraduate life. Let us, then, consider specifically the athletic, social, literary, and moral enterprises that make up the major part of so-called student life.

With reference to athletics the initiative unquestionably came from the student body; in fact, it originated with the robust new type of student whom a large share of the faculty feared and with whom administrative officers had not yet learned how to deal. Even today where faculty coaches and gymnasium instructors have general control it is the social pressure of student enthusiasm that furnishes the motive power. It is because the athlete is lionized by his fellow-students and the public that the athletic coach has a driving power in his discipline which the ordinary professor cannot approach. Lack of this superior effectiveness is evident in the gymnastic drill where student sentiment is wanting, and is shown especially among women where athletic hero worship is not so evident.

Assuming, then, that whatever faculty supervision and control there may be over athletics, the initiative and driving power are obtained from student pressure, it remains to mention briefly their educative influence on the undergraduate.

The physical advantages to the student who makes an athletic team we may take for granted. Once an athlete always an athletic advocate and supporter. Even though a student never makes an athletic team, if he be interested in athletics during his four years of college life he is never likely to lose that interest, and it is apt to develop a respect for physical fitness that will lead him to adopt better means to health, to take more or less regular physical exercise, and to cultivate the vacation habit. We have reached a stage in our industrial life where it is essential that every man in a specialized calling have some physical recreation or avocation as a basis of personal efficiency, to say nothing of its value as health insurance. It is unfortunate that such a large part of our college playing is taken vicariously by the student body and that such a large proportion of athletic effort is devoted to the few "stars" who least

need the physical training; it is equally unfortunate that our most popular college games are not adapted to lifelong participation; but, discounting all of the evils, including overstrain at the oars and on the track and the injuries of the football field, we must give to the recent athletic craze most of the credit for the transformation of our student bodies from the anemic and physically inferior status of the earlier day to the robust, even robustious, student health at the present time. There may be an exaggerated amount of student talk about athletic affairs, but it is the enthusiasm thus engendered that has transferred athletic records from the prize ring and the haunts of the gambler to the college campus and elevated the private brawl into the team game under the fairest umpiring attainable. Without the contagious excitement of the intercollegiate contests the high-salaried athletic instructors and the multitude of gymnasiums, athletic fields, swimming pools, tennis courts, and golf links spread over the country would have been impossible.

Not less important than the physical are the intellectual and moral values of the athletic spirit. No other mental drill in the undergraduate course is so effective as the football practice in making complex psychic reactions habitual. Nor are the strategy and tactics of games without their permanent influences. Better yet are the moral lessons of self-denial during the training season, taking defeat gracefully, controlling the temper under provocation, co-operating with others instinctively, and sacrificing self for the sake of the team and the school. Dean Briggs has well said:

It is athletics in which many a youth, pampered at home and at school, gets the only taste of the stern discipline without which he cannot be a man. His studies he evades, and his friends pardon the evasion; his football he cannot evade, or he is branded as a "quitter," as "soft," or "sandless." From his studies he gets more or less culture, but no backbone; from his football he gets the stuff and substance of his education. The business man often prefers in his office a successful college athlete to a successful scholar; for the athlete, as the business man says, "has done something."¹

Moreover this athletic influence reaches beyond the player. Resignation in defeat, magnanimity in victory, fairness in tactics,

¹ *School, College and Character*, pp. 97-98.

sportsmanship in feeling, and merging self-interests with college interests spreads from the team to the bleachers and rounds out institutional *esprit de corps*. Every college executive recognizes the value of athletics in preventing violent outbreaks and developing student social control. It is college athletics which is rapidly transforming the sport into the sportsman and introducing not only honesty but chivalry into the play of a nation so new at the game that it has been freely characterized by sharp practices and worship of brute strength. It is under the leadership of the college-trained athlete that the bully is being driven from our streets and the surplus energy of the outlawed gang is being organized into the decently managed athletic contest. Thus we may see a variety of social as well as individual values accruing from the worship of physical prowess in our colleges. Who would undertake to say that these things are not educative and that they are not the function of college training as well as the inculcation of a knowledge of Latin, mathematics, or science?

With reference to the social life of undergraduates similar conclusions may be drawn. It is in the dormitory, the boarding club, the fraternity, the college union, and the free-and-easy camaraderie of friendly association that the rough edges of character are worn off. Only the attrition of the intimate contact and unfettered discourse of student with student is sharp enough to smooth out social crudities and develop the finer sensibilities that lead to tact and *savoir faire*. No ability is more important in the complex society of a democratic and crowded world than the ability to meet men on equal terms, to lead and to follow, to deal effectively with all classes and all sorts of social conditions, and to face the world on the basis of worth rather than that of puerile social distinctions; and nowhere else in life is found better, or even as good, training for this purpose as is found on the college campus. This training like other forms of education is best gained in selected groups.

That student social life is of fundamental significance is everywhere being recognized. I asked the first Ph.D. I met after beginning this paper what the greatest molding influence in his undergraduate career (at the University of Michigan) was. He replied unhesitatingly, "My fraternity life." Charles Francis

Adams in his autobiography attributed the greatest influence Harvard had upon him to the "very miscellaneous" friendships there formed. Dr. Slosson, writing of Yale, said: "The Yale men who have patiently endeavored to explain to me the influences which mold the undergraduate into the Yale type have laid great stress on the common dormitory life and the effect of the senior societies." President Harper spent much time and effort to build up the social life at Chicago and to regulate the fraternities. Woodrow Wilson was willing to risk the wrecking of his administration at Princeton by trying to democratize the Princeton clubs, and President Lowell in advocating Freshman dormitories stated in his inaugural address at Harvard:

A large college ought to give its students a wide horizon, and it fails therein unless it mixes them together so thoroughly that the friendships they form are based on natural affinities rather than similarity of origin. Now these ties are formed most rapidly at the threshold of college life, and the set in which a man shall move is determined in his Freshman year. It is obviously desirable, therefore, that the Freshmen be thrown together more than they are now.

Moreover the change from the life of school to that of college is too abrupt at the present day. Taken gradually, liberty is a powerful stimulant; but taken suddenly in large doses, it is apt to act as an intoxicant or an opiate. It would seem that all these difficulties could be much lessened if the Freshmen were brought together in a group of dormitories and dining halls, under the comradeship of older men, who appreciate the possibilities of a college life, and took a keen interest in their work and pleasures.¹

The crux of the social situation is found in the life of the fraternities and similar close-knit organizations. Fraternities have entered American colleges and universities as the natural out-growth of the "insistent call for congenial companionship" on the part of normal young men, and, in the words of President Brannon, they possess "unusual opportunities for the development of friendship, scholarship, leadership, and a thoroughly wholesome and worthwhile life among undergraduates." Elbridge Colby writes in the *Educational Review*:²

Wide experience is very valuable in character formation and the American college, with its mixture of types, forms a splendid crucible for the melting

¹ *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, December, 1909.

² September, 1913.

and tempering of the metals. In like wise, the fraternity, smaller, more compact, more intimate, and more intense in the relations it fosters, is the ideal point of contact, the perfect spot for the study under correction, and not merely the slight observation, of our fellowmen. The advantage of the fraternity, both in contact with a multiplicity of types and the intensity of personal feelings, is that there is no time lost in progression from the initial acquaintance. Formalities can be immediately brushed aside and the direct personal influence can begin at once, and can be truer and less artificial from the start.

That fraternities have not always lived up to their opportunities is patent to all; but may not some of their undoubted social excesses be attributed to the buoyancy of youth in a social atmosphere made sterile by overmuch classroom monotony and uninspired lecturing, aided either by institutional neglect of social life or by mothering regulation undertaken without understanding, or sympathy for youthful exuberance? With the breakdown of puritanic control and the development of intelligent oversight these weaknesses are being eradicated and the way paved for a more real social education through group organizations where student social pressure will support rather than oppose conduct that will harmonize with academic ideals of cultivated social intercourse.

Time and not any lesser importance requires a briefer discussion of the educational values of the literary and moral activities of the undergraduate. The literary and cultural activities include such things as general reading, literary society work and debates, dramatic and musical entertainments, and editing the college periodicals. In one or more of these enterprises a very large percentage of the student body participate. Next to the friendships that he formed Charles Francis Adams attributed the best influence in his Harvard life to his varied reading and writing. Ex-Senator Hoar, Andrew D. White, and Theodore Roosevelt echo the same sentiment in their autobiographies. James Russell Lowell was repeatedly reprimanded for neglecting his work and was finally suspended because his time was spent in cursory reading and writing rather than attending lectures. Probably the literary taste and reading habits of the average college alumnus were determined more by his library browsing than by his classroom instruction in English. Dean E. A. Birge, of Wisconsin, has stated what many graduates feel: "As I look back," says he, "I feel that many hours

of my college life, wasted in ineffective work for natural history collections, in loitering in the remoter alcoves of the library, in turning over old and forgotten books, have in time yielded me a far larger harvest than much of my serious work. I have found that the intellectual fun of college life has given me quite as much as its labors."¹

With regard to the literary society and intercollegiate debates many a college graduate, prior to the last twenty years at least, can look back, as does the writer, to his activities in those fields as the greatest formative influences in his undergraduate life. This was particularly true in the small college where school politics and personal leadership, as well as forensic and literary ability, centered in the literary societies. In spite of certain rhetorical extravagances they fostered, public life in both England and America owes much to the literary and debating societies where so many of their legislative leaders were trained. Not less significant is work on college papers. Dean Keppel has pointed out that "the proportion of our best American writers who served their apprenticeship as contributors to college magazines is strikingly high, and the best undergraduate work itself not infrequently shows realization as well as promise. College verse in particular is often really excellent."² There are many students likewise whose dramatic and musical performances provide real inspiration, cultivation in taste, and incomparable experience. Leadership, or continual participation, in any one of these fields calls forth efforts and qualities of a high order, and the training they give is not to be surpassed in the regimen of any department of college life.

As for moral development, can any direct or indirect emanation from the classroom compare in the formation of standards of conduct or ideals of service with the varied and intensive forces of student emulation and criticism? Didactic instruction treats about morals rather than trains people in moral living. Only in personal or social conduct in actual human situations can morals be wrought into the lives and characters of individuals. No better foundation for moral cultivation has yet been discovered than the

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*.

² *The Undergraduate and His College*, p. 211.

intimacy, the sympathy, and the helpfulness of student relationships in the college atmosphere. No greater tribute to the fairness of the student mind can be found than the growing confidence of executive and disciplinary officers in student aid toward solving disciplinary difficulties. Dean Thomas A. Clark, of the University of Illinois, writes:

I should have far more trouble than I do were it not for the reliance which I have upon individual students, and student organizations, to help control situations. One of the main reasons why I have favored fraternities, and other social organizations among students, is because I have found them of the greatest help to me in controlling and directing student activities, and in preventing dissipations and outbursts which might otherwise occur. One active student leader can help immensely to keep things under control.¹

Where student honor systems and student government exist even more specific and continuous training is provided in the development of a sense of individual and social moral responsibility.

Nor is the work of college civic and religious organizations to be overlooked. In the Young Men's Christian Association many a young man has found an inspiration, a spiritual sanity, and a moral enthusiasm not to be obtained in any church. No organization has done more than the Y.M.C.A. to strip religion of its useless and sometimes misleading formalism, its denominational barriers, its cheap sensationalism, and its misplaced emphasis on external habits rather than internal purity and devotion. It would scarcely be denied that it was the training thousands of young men received in college associations all over our land that formed the basis of the magnificent work the Y.M.C.A. has done and is doing for our soldiers and sailors. Nothing is doing more to restore masculinity to the ideals of worship and of human service than the open-minded and tolerant approach toward ethical questions in our colleges, and no better proof of the moral stamina of our undergraduates could be desired than their magnificent response to the national call to a democratic world-crusade.

Finally, it may be well to summarize the personal qualities which seem in general to be due more to the forces of extra-curricular college life than to curricular instruction. Among these are such

¹ *Proceedings of the American Educational Association*, 1910.

valuable attributes as organizing ability, capacity for co-operation, training in leadership, conversational skill, public discourse, catholicity of spirit and tolerance, fraternal fellowship, sportsmanship, standards in dress, custom, and convention, taste in art, music, and literature, and civic and ethical ideals. It is not that direct instruction and more particularly the indirect classroom influences of faculty members do not aid in all these fields, but that these qualities are more especially the by-products of the process of socialization brought about by the contacts of individual with individual and group with group. They are closely connected with human activities and are more powerfully stimulated by lateral than by perpendicular social pressure. The American undergraduate student body is a democratic group. It will take a certain amount of instruction, direction, and inspiration from the faculty above, but it insists on its own motives, its own public opinion, its own ideals, its own leaders, and its own standards of conduct pushed up from the mass; and in the process of establishing and maintaining these it contributes abundantly to its own education and thence to the democratization and advancement of the more general society into which it dissolves.

DISCUSSION

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There is one point in Professor Gillette's paper to which I wish to refer. He says that "with the vast extent of society and its intricate nature, it is a gigantic task to bestow anything like a competent intelligence of community matters on the masses." This is a very fundamental point with reference to the general subject of this session, namely, "Sociology in the Common Schools." Against Professor Gillette's view it may be urged that it is probably true that the masses understand a great deal more about community matters than they are given credit for and that, after all, it may not be a difficult task to impart information to them about such matters. The real difficulty appears to be that sociology has not yet provided a body of information relating to community matters that can be imparted to the masses. Sociology, as Professor Clow has indicated in his paper, is still more or less in a preliminary stage; that is, it is still mainly concerned with what is sociology, its relation to other sciences, the nature of society, the analysis of society, the nature of social progress, what should be sociology's subject-matter, etc. In a word it would appear that sociology is still more or less in the academic stage, that is, it is still

confined mainly to the realm of discussion. It should also be said that sociology is too immediately practical. It is generally true that sociological programs are formulated and the efforts made to carry them out without first basing these programs on exhaustive investigations and thoroughgoing critical studies.

The primary object of sociology is not any of the things which I have just named. They are the incidentals, the preliminaries of the science. If sociology has primarily to do with human beings in their associative capacities, then its primary function is, through investigation and research, to collect a body of information that will point out, make clear, what these relationships are and what, in the present, the now, should be done in order that these relationships may be made more harmonious, more just, and proper.

An examination of the vital things with which mankind is concerned, whether in the local community or in the state, whether nationally or internationally, shows that these vital things are concerned with or turn about the relationships which arise out of associations. It is also well to observe just here that the fundamental things in social life arise out of the ordinary, the everyday, associations of people. For the industrial, the political, the religious, the educational, the domestic, and other relations are ever present as a part of the ordinary everyday affairs of life. It happens that, at a particular time, the individual or the community is more interested in, more concerned with, some of these phases than with the other phases. This interest, this concern, arises out of the exigencies of the situation, as, for example, at one time the industrial relations of life are at the forefront, at another time, as just now, it is the problems of political relations of life.

This brings us to a consideration of the present opportunities of sociology. As a result of the world-war readjustments of the various peoples, races, and nationalities to their relations to each other are taking place. There is the spread of democratic ideas and a wider application of democratic principles. This era is witnessing new adjustments in education. I understand that new aims for education are being formulated. In this new educational program sociology should have a large place.

In the readjustments of human relationships which are now taking place, there is opportunity for sociology to take and to occupy a place which it has not hitherto held. It should take its place as a leading director in these new adjustments, pointing out, on the one hand, the particulars of the adjustments, and on the other hand, formulating the broad lines along which the readjustments of the present and of the immediate future should take place. There is here great opportunity for investigation and research, not into the past as what has been done, but into the present of what is now going on. These investigations and researches should not be isolated, limited, unconnected, but should be conducted along broad and related lines covering every phase of association. These investigations and researches should be continuous and should extend over a considerable period of time, several years or more. In

this way sociology would build up a body of scientific facts. These facts would form the basis for sociology to become an active, vital force in guiding and directing human relationships. At present sociology is mainly discussing and analyzing relationships, but not to any great extent directing them.

That there is need for the masses to have information relative to social matters, no one will deny. It is very probable that the correct imparting of information, relative to community matters, would act as a counteract to race, class, and other forms of social friction. It is very probable that if there were proper instruction with reference to human relationships, the tendency would be to decrease prejudice, to increase sympathy, and to instil the spirit of co-operation and helpfulness. Take, for example, mobs and lynchings; these are essentially of the masses; that is, of those whose education has not been beyond the elementary grades. I am especially interested in the problem of the suppression of lynchings and the mob spirit that is back of lynchings. I venture the assertion that if all the people in this country who have only had opportunity to acquire the education of the elementary grades could receive instruction in the fundamental principles of human relationships, the mob spirit in this country, to a large extent, would be done away with.

It is very important, then, that the masses should have sociological information imparted to them. The common schools afford one of the best avenues for imparting this information. There arises in connection with the question of sociology in the common schools the problem of suitable textbooks, of teachers capable of successfully handling the truths that should be presented, and also the problem of the subject-matter for presentation. It may be suggested that this subject-matter should contain, on the one hand, the simpler facts relating to the organization of society, and on the other hand, facts about the ordinary, the everyday, human relationships. It would appear that, because of the conditions which have arisen as a result of the world-war, the facts about human relationships are the important ones, and that instruction concerning them should receive the larger attention.

F. STUART CHAPIN, SMITH COLLEGE

Professor Gillette's thoughtful and interesting paper expresses my own point of view so well that I shall use the time for discussion allotted to me in an attempt to point out answers to Professor Clow's very pertinent questions, since I believe that they constitute a challenge that should be met.

In answer to Mr. Clow's first inquiry, "Can the confusion of views and usages regarding the nature and scope of sociology be cleared up?" I answer yes! Although I have never put the question personally to them, I believe that Professors Ross, Giddings, Cooley, Ellwood, Hayes, Blackmar, Gillin, and Keller would agree that the problem phenomena of sociology are of as clear and distinct a class as those of the best-established sciences, and that specifically these problem phenomena are those massed and correlated psychic elements

variously known as social customs, standards, traditions, institutions, conventions, folkways, and mores. The special social sciences treat of the phenomena of folkways, mores, social standards, customs, and institutions, if at all, only as *incidental* to the special subject-matter of each. Thus there have been left over the important residual problems of the origin and growth of social customs, standards, folkways, mores, and institutions, and these problems have become the special field of a legitimate and independent science. Sociology is a synthetic science, not because it is merely a rough sum total of the socially significant laws of special sciences, but because its subject-matter is the deep-lying strata of social customs, standards, folkways, and mores, which are common bedrock of all social phenomena.

Perhaps the confusion of thought about the nature and scope of sociology among teachers who are not primarily teachers of sociology is caused by their failure to make a logical distinction between the problem phenomena and the conditioning phenomena of sociology. The problem phenomena of sociology are those which the science undertakes to explain; the conditioning phenomena are the terms of the explanation. The former I have just defined; the latter include biological facts and principles which condition the capacity of individuals and populations to develop and conform to social usages; for example, the hereditary feeble-minded are incapable of maintaining normal standards in competitive society, and certain races have special inherited capacities; in addition the conditioning phenomena include the psychological facts and principles which also determine the capacity of individuals and populations to develop and conform to social usages, for example, differences in instinct and emotional power among individuals; again, they include the geographic—such physical facts as climate, soil, topography, and natural resources; finally, they include the technic, or modifications in physical conditions produced by the energy and labor of man, such as roads, tunnels, canals, irrigation systems, tenements, factories, etc. I know of no more logical and concise statement of this important distinction than is found in chapter i of Professor Hayes's *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*.

In answer to Mr. Clow's second inquiry, "Shall it be regarded as correct usage to label as sociology any sort of treatment of the social phases of life?" my reply is no! In the first place the treatment to be sociology must be limited to the phases of social life mentioned, and it must be scientific treatment, not "any treatment." If sociology is a science, then the term "religious sociology" or "Christian sociology" has no more meaning than "pagan chemistry" or "Mohammedan biology," for science is a body of quite generally accepted and universally verifiable principles which explain the relations and laws of phenomena of a certain kind. The universal element of science consists in its method. There is only one scientific method whatever the subject-matter of the given field of study and however varied are the specializations in technique. As Professor Karl Pearson says, "The unity of all science consists alone in its method, not in its material. The man who classifies facts of any

kind whatever, who sees their mutual relation and describes their sequences, is applying the scientific method and is a man of science" (*Grammar of Science*, 2d ed., p. 12). Or again, "The scientific man has above all things to strive at self-elimination in his judgments, to provide an argument which is as true for each individual mind as for his own" (*ibid.*, p. 6). This last statement could certainly not apply to the "Christian sociologist." On the other hand the use of such objective terms as rural sociology and municipal sociology parallel the use of such terms as organic chemistry and inorganic chemistry, and define a special field within the science. These terms are legitimate and perfectly consistent with science, but such terms as "religious sociology" and "Christian sociology" imply so much subjectivism as to be unscientific and incorrect usage.

I once thought that members of this Society might in conference agree on a uniform usage in regard to the terminology of sociology, but I doubt whether such a method of securing the standardization in usage which Mr. Clow asks for would be successful. The terms that survive are so often the winnowings of time that I fear conscious effort to standardize would be premature, abortive, and its results artificial. Science is a democratic growth, contributed to by many humble inventors. The rulings of a body of eminent sociologists would have to be arbitrary at best, and, if our science is dynamic, necessarily short-lived. Still an inventory and a stock-taking now and then might be useful.

Mr. Clow asks the question, "Is sociology sufficiently mature to be ready for practical application?" In suggesting an answer to this inquiry, I should like to make a distinction between pure sociology and applied sociology, and then indicate how far in my estimation the scientific method has been applied in these two fields. If the problem phenomena of sociology consist of social customs, standards, and institutions, then pure sociology is the study of the laws of their origin, relations, and evolution, and applied sociology is organized and systematized effort to restore normal standards, to encourage helpful traditions, and to preserve and buildup normal social institutions.

College and university professors are chiefly concerned with the study of pure sociology; social workers with applied sociology. If you will stop to consider for a moment the common subject-matter of the works of Sumner, Ward, Giddings, Howard, Ross, Ellwood, Cooley, Hayes, Keller, and the other academic sociologists, you will discover that their contributions *are* to our knowledge of the origin, relations, and evolution of social customs, standards, and institutions. Similar attention to the activities of the leading social workers, Edward T. Devine, W. Frank Persons, Robert A. Woods, Jane Addams, Mary Richmond, and Julia Lathrop, discloses the fact that their efforts in the development of a technique of social case work, methods of follow-up work in family rehabilitation, in poor relief, and in methods of social legislation, are chiefly concerned with preserving or re-establishing normal and prevailing social customs, standards, and institutions. In reality, then, academic or philosophical sociologists are working in the same general field as practical-eyed social workers; but the former are pure sociologists, while the

latter are applied sociologists. In an endeavor to reconcile the somewhat different points of view of these two groups I have recently offered a definition of "sociology as the science of the origin, growth, and evolution of social customs, standards, and institutions. It analyzes and defines them, and studies the causes that tend to force people below normal standards, thus showing us how to prevent recurrent lapses from these norms, as well as to relieve abnormal conditions" (*Scientific Monthly*, September 1918).

Time is lacking to point out by a series of instances how the average social worker or applied sociologist would gain by a knowledge of pure sociology, but I can say in general, and I believe without contradiction, that much indiscriminate poor relief, much premature legislation, and much aimless settlement work would have been avoided had social workers a more sound knowledge of the principles which pure sociologists have found to govern the development and evolution of the customs, standards, and institutions which social workers seek to preserve or re-establish. Certainly a perspective of social evolution giving a knowledge of the ponderous and slowly acting forces in society would do much to avoid hasty and ill-considered action.

Finally, to consider how far the scientific method is utilized by pure and applied sociologists. If the scientific method consists of three consecutive steps—first, the collection and recording of facts of observation; second, the classification of these facts into series and sequences; third, the interpretation of this data or the discovery of some short formula or law which explains the sequence of facts—then I think we should all agree that the contributions of the pure sociologists have come mostly as a result of the application of the historical method to the study of documentary records of social phenomena. This is chiefly because they have been academic teachers with historical training. In other words pure sociologists have relied on the method of indirect observation instead of relying upon accumulations of "piled-up actualities"—statistics gathered from field-work observations.

On the other hand social workers and applied sociologists have made a distinct contribution to the method of making and recording unbiased observations of social phenomena in the way they have developed a technique of social case work and a technique of schedule-making for social investigations. For the schedule and face sheet are simply devices for minimizing the personal equation of the observer (field worker) by means of systematized observation. In some respects it may be truly said that the schedule, the questionnaire, and the face sheet of the case record are for sociology the prototypes of those refined instruments of observation—the telescope and camera of astronomy.

To sum up my answer to Mr. Clow's third question, sociologists pure and applied have had considerable success in developing and applying a technique of scientific observation; they have been less happy in developing valid systems of classification, and even less successful in the discovery of laws of social phenomena. The academic sociologists have indeed advanced systems of classification; but these systems are more truly classifications of shrewd

speculations than classifications of accumulated facts of observation. A few social laws also have been provisionally formulated, but never submitted to inductive test and hence are empirical laws, not scientific laws. If this is true, then sociology is still chiefly a descriptive science, and cannot claim to be an applied science to any great extent. This conclusion also suggests the answer to Mr. Clow's last inquiry, "Is the time ripe for a general treatise on sociology which will select, condense, simplify, and unify the best thought of the time?"

Ross L. FINNEY, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, VALLEY CITY, NORTH DAKOTA

The word "in" is ambiguous; this ambiguity shall furnish my outline.

Sociology should be "in" the common schools first, *as a guiding factor*. We have done the traditional thing in education long enough without knowing why. Latterly the schools have surrendered blindly to the materialistic conception of success. It is now high time that we develop a well-thought-out philosophy of education. We must first of all define its aim. We must next decide what contents, what methods, and what organizations will achieve the ends that we define. Sociologists know full well that their science cannot be ignored by any thinker who attempts to answer those questions. For this is pre-eminently an age of social readjustment in which the school is the most important single factor. The school itself must therefore be directed primarily with reference to the social problems that civilization has to negotiate. The pilot must know the channel.

Professor Gillette's paper illustrates this principle. Vocational education, as conducted by the sociologically unenlightened, would certainly plunge us all into the ditch. But the sociologist sees that it has more purposes than merely to make Johnnie a good earner. Indeed, he sees that vocational training is only a fraction of the education that acquaints John Doe with, and adapts him to, the whole social system. I could wish that Dr. Gillette had said even more emphatically that it is a fraction of the total education which will qualify John Doe to participate in the use of all the good things of the social heritage. This adjustment to the social system, this participation in the social heritage, Johnnie will miss unless sociology directs his education. And if he and any considerable proportion of his contemporaries miss these ends, the sociologist knows that democracy will collapse, or at least fail to realize its hopes.

Sociologists should therefore give more specific attention to education than they have done as yet. Educational sociology is certainly as important a branch of their science as rural sociology or criminology. They ought not to leave it to the exploitation of educators who are relatively untrained in sociological principles. Only the most thoroughly scientific sociologists are competent to this task, and they should not shirk it.

But professional sociologists do not conduct the common schools. School administrators do that. It follows, therefore, that they must be trained in social science, and trained liberally enough to render them competent social

engineers of education. Nothing in sociology or economics, I venture to assert, would be irrelevant to such a training. I think Professor Clow's quotations from normal-school presidents and deans of university schools of education prove nothing except their failure to realize the importance of this principle. Why should they be expected to realize it, any more than a Methodist bishop? Most of them are estimable but elderly gentlemen who were educated before the days of sociology. His quotations prove, further, that educational administrators are not getting the training in social science that they should have. And as for the administrators already at work in the schools, the vast majority of them do not so much as realize that there is a social point of view. One such, a very popular superintendent, argued that enough sociology could be taught out of Cicero's orations, seeing there was graft in his day as well as in ours.

In my opinion college and university professors of sociology could help the cause materially by announcing and offering courses in educational sociology in their own departments. The word education in the title of such courses would attract the attention of students and professors in the department of education. Many more prospective educators would take courses so labeled than if they were labeled plain sociology. Such leadership on the part of sociologists would both stimulate and standardize educational sociology in the departments of education themselves.

As for normal schools, especially with respect to their short courses, I am inclined to the opinion that they need more psychology than sociology. Normal schools train young teachers primarily in the *how* of teaching. This is based principally on psychology, of course. The *what* and *why* are largely determined for them by overhead authority. Still they should not be left in ignorance of the *what* and the *why*. But I doubt the utility of a course in general sociology. I think instead the applications of sociology to education should be pointed out as simply and as directly as possible. The course should answer such questions as these: Why should elementary education be universal? Why is social participation desirable? What does a good citizen need to know? Why is a one-sided vocational training objectionable? etc., etc.

I come now to the second sense in which sociology should be "in" the common schools: *it should be taught in them.*

No one realizes better than the persons here present the extent to which this age is characterized by critical social problems. No one appreciates more fully how vast are the issues at stake. But what is it, sociologists, that ties your hands and checkmates the reforms you so ardently desire to see inaugurated? Is it not the ignorance of the masses, and especially the ignorance of the intelligent, influential middle class? Do you not instinctively feel that they should be the natural arbitrators between social extremes? But instead of enlightened co-operation they too often chill you with blind and smug indifference. And even in times like these!

The permanent solution of this situation is to bring up a generation of citizens who have been taught a liberal allotment of social science in the public schools.

Professor Smith is entirely right in his emphasis upon social participation. He might very properly carry this matter somewhat farther, as Professor Bobbitt does in his splendid new contribution to educational sociology, unfortunately misnamed "The Curriculum," and advocate the participation of pupils in the actual out-of-school civic activities of adults. I shall neither add to Professor Smith's emphasis nor further unfold Bobbitt's point of view, but go on to say that young citizens need also to learn a great many concrete facts, and some abstract principles, in economics and sociology. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the materials of social science should constitute the core of the curriculum, especially that of the secondary school. Time forbids mention of the various ways that elementary subjects have been socialized in the last few years. Secondary education, however, does not yield so readily, but there is considerable sentiment developing to the effect that social science ought to be liberally taught in high school. Some contend that all the subjects should be given an overt sociological flavor. My own thought has been that there might well be three courses in the last four or five grades of the public school. The first, a sort of sociological geography, very concrete, running through the eighth or ninth year. The second, a course in American history with very heavy emphasis on the industrial and social side, running through the tenth or eleventh year. And third, a course of more abstract economics and sociology throughout the twelfth year. I should be willing to sacrifice almost anything in the line of traditional subjects to make room for these courses. The traditional subjects I should motivate, moreover, by some correlation about this social center of interest. I should like to see these courses required, with the possible exception of the last one. The age of compulsory attendance I should like to see raised to eighteen so as to force practically all prospective citizens into the high schools to get this work. I consider this necessary because no sufficient training for citizenship, in these times of complex social difficulties that must be settled at the polls, can possibly be given in the elementary period; the children's minds are too immature.

The most immediately needed contribution is the production of suitable textbooks. Whenever I have urged social-science teaching in the public schools, the lack of textbooks has always been the difficulty most insistently urged by practical superintendents. I was very much interested last Monday at Chicago in discussing this matter with Dr. Judd. He says high-school teachers are usually trained for other subjects and know very little about social science. Even if they have had college courses in the subject he objects to the traditional method of approach. He objects most strenuously to letting the history teacher spoil the subject, as he expresses it. This unpreparedness of teachers is the reason for the urgent need of textbooks. Here, then, is a wide-open field for men trained both in social science and practical edu-

tion. Professors of sociology may well point promising graduate students to this field.

The third point I wish to make is that "*in the schools enough social science cannot be taught* to meet the urgent needs of the present crisis. One sociologist remarked to another recently that he scented revolution and thanked the Lord he did not have a million dollars. I heard a Chicago woman predict a race riot there in less than a year. A business man told his Sunday-school teacher that it looked as if we should have to maintain a big standing army, the labor situation was getting so serious. I heard in Minneapolis the other day that the Bolsheviks have started a daily paper there. If the crash is to be averted the middle class must arbitrate, not the middle class of tomorrow after a generation has been ground through the new socialized high school, but the middle class of today. And the necessary information about social problems can only be got to them by a most aggressive out-of-school campaign of propaganda. This must be done immediately; not a moment is to be lost. The reconstruction is the sociologists' opportunity to serve their country. The psychologists assembled, I think, at Worcester, Massachusetts, formally offered their services to the government a year and a half ago, were accepted, and have rendered a conspicuous service. Sociologists should do likewise now. Traditions count for nothing in critical moments like these. Democracy's future is at stake; and this is the group of men that can do more than any others to save it in this reconstruction crisis. But they must do more than discuss; they must act. And I respectfully submit that this is the time and this is the place to initiate such action.

EDWARD T. DEVINE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The school is our most conservative institution. Neither trade-union nor church can compete for the honor. This is perhaps a wise provision of nature. We shall have industrial democracy long before we have democratic ideals in elementary or secondary schools or—except sporadically—in the universities.

Industrial and farm workers leave school earliest. They do not remain, as those destined to commerce and the professions and to non-productive life, to influence the curriculum, to determine in fact its character by forming its only connecting links with the university. In a system of universal elementary education we see at the minimum working age—twelve, fourteen, whatever it may be—a large stream of young workers passing directly to factories, offices, or farms. Each year thereafter succeeding streams are diverted, leaving at last a very small proportion who are to enjoy the blessings of higher education.

We have generally assumed—not without protest, more and more prevailing—that the educational process from kindergarten to university may, notwithstanding these constantly successive departures, be conceived as one process; that the ideal secondary education for those who are to go to the university will be also satisfactory for those who leave at the end of high school,

that the ideal preparation for the high school will also be satisfactory for those grammar-school pupils who go to work directly instead of going to high school, that the elementary-school pupils who do not enter the grammar school will nevertheless do very well if they have that kind and amount of education which is necessary to enter the grammar school. In denial of this assumption, as far as high schools are concerned, we see technical high schools, commercial schools, trade schools, etc.; and we also see private schools leading their pupils straight for the universities by a shorter and surer route than the public educational system provides.

Suppose, however, that the assumption after all is true, but that we have perverted its application. What if the educational process is really one or capable of unification, but that the life of the great body of workers—industrial, agricultural, and commercial—should furnish the unifying element rather than the vocational needs of the few who are to enjoy a higher education? What if the grammar school should take the elementary graduates, the high school the grammar-school graduates, and the university the high-school graduates, and in each case go on with what they have, building on it, limited by it, keeping the dwindling numbers who are to be the intellectual leaders close to the mind of the whole population, having all that they have and as much more as it is possible to build in the added years on the basis which is the common possession of all?

This is no novel idea. Underlying much of the agitation for vocational education—industrial, agricultural, domestic—has been the desire for emancipation from the requirements of higher education. What I urge, however, is that in the very interest of higher education itself the elements which are needed for industrial and agricultural workers are valuable; that the conventional preparation for college is most of all in need of overhauling from the ground up; that lawyers will be better lawyers, teachers better teachers, preachers better preachers, and business men certainly infinitely better business men, if we can bring it about that secondary, higher, and professional education will take adolescents who have already been deliberately grounded in the things which workers should know in order to be good workers and in order to lead a good life, and from such material will develop the national leaders, democratic-minded leaders, in tune with the life of the nation's workers.

The qualifications for admission to the university would then be merely that degree of intellectual maturity, that amount of conventional knowledge, that mastery over the tools of study, which all men require for usefulness in productive industry in those positions to which well-equipped high-school graduates go on leaving school. I am not insisting on uniformity in elementary or secondary education. Perhaps there are many parallel roads to the common starting-point for work and study. I am merely insisting that candidates for higher education should not be deprived of the valuable elements—when we find out what they are—in the preparation of producers, tillers of the soil, homemakers, skilled craftsmen, artisans; for it is this deprivation which unfits

men of higher education for leadership, which disqualifies preachers and statesmen and captains of industry from performing their legitimate functions, which spoils artists and poets and teachers.

We have specialized prematurely. We have divorced learning from life. We have created classes whether we intend it or not: a privileged class, more or less out of sympathy with the masses; and a proletarian class, more or less ready for specious devices for bringing in the millennium. And then we have devised settlements to bring the two classes into relation again.

EMILY PALMER CAPE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The most essential question today is the spreading of sociological truths to the masses.

To awaken a sincere and intelligent comprehension of what the great laws of nature mean in their relationship to human life and the true philosophy of sociological facts to the masses, is to plant in hungry minds the seeds of right thinking; and within those great bodies of people who live without the university training or learning, this is a most important factor in the sociological field.

I speak from practical experience, having had large gatherings of both men and women, who not only come regularly but continue to ask for more and more of the practical philosophy of sociology in our classes.

In this greatest of reconstruction work now facing the world, there is no more important or necessary branch than to teach *all human beings*, of *all classes*, to think scientifically and unselfishly, and in no branch of teaching may the laws of society be so enlightening to the masses as through the study of man and his environment, of realizing "the utilization of the materials and forces of nature."

It is by giving to the non-university masses the education which awakens the biggest truths in sociology that human beings shall be helped to a higher goal.

EDWIN L. EARP, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

I was interested particularly in what Professor Chapin said about the use of the term *Christian* sociology and *Educational* sociology. Ten years ago when the chair I fill at Drew Theological Seminary was established they named it the Chair of Christian Sociology. At that time it was something out of the usual order to admit the teaching of sociology in the theological curriculum, so the adjective "Christian" was added, not because it had any scientific designation or justification, but rather as a capsule, so to speak, in order to make the subject less objectionable to the theological patient while it was admitted he needed the dose. A like reason may exist for the use of the term *Educational* sociology in order that the subject so much needed may the more readily be introduced into the public schools. I am, however, in entire agreement with Dr. Chapin as to the unscientific character of such titles.

I wish to add just a word to this discussion. Social education through the community can be greatly advanced at times by taking advantage of a crisis in the life of a particular community. To illustrate: During the recent epidemic in the town of Madison, N.J., the district nurse employed by the Civics Department of the Women's Club was simply overwhelmed by the number of calls from the poorer families among the Italian settlements, the negroes, and the "natives" in different sections of the town. It was impossible for her to be of real service to many homes so widely scattered over the whole town. One or two persons with social vision called on the mayor and suggested the use of some building as an emergency hospital, there being no hospital in the town, and word had just been sent from the neighboring towns of Morristown and Summit that no more patients could be received in the hospitals already overcrowded, so something had to be done. Within twelve hours, by calling in representatives of the Red Cross, the Board of Health, and the women's clubs, a fully equipped emergency hospital was made ready with over thirty beds, all brought from the homes of willing citizens of the well-to-do class. The Young Men's Christian Association building was used. The Domestic Science Department of the high school was secured to cook and furnish the food for the patients and nurses; three or four trained nurses were secured and many young women who had done Red Cross work volunteered to take turns in helping with the work; and within a short time the epidemic was mastered, the building fumigated, the beds returned to the owners in good condition, and the whole town had been educated through this social experience in the possibility of co-operative action of all the various population groups.

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In experience the task of inspiring supervisors of common schools with a social spirit is best accomplished by sending them into the country to make surveys. We have found at Columbia University that we can turn back into rural service the school supervisors who come to us by means of courses which bring them into immediate, first-hand contact with country people. We get in Teachers College four classes of supervisors: the school supervisor, including some county superintendents and state employees; the public-health nurses; the county agents, men and women, who are agricultural graduates and prepared to work under county farm bureaus; and a limited number of pastors of country churches. All these we regard as supervisors in the hardest sociological task. To inspire them with a rural vision, after a great deal of experimenting, we have entered into co-operation with Warren and Hunterdon counties in New Jersey, about seventy-five miles from the city, and we send the students out at the expense of the College to make surveys and to report in class their findings. These surveys are social, sociological, health surveys, studies of churches, of the milk industry, of country stores, and of civic organizations. They teach the student to observe.

It seems to me that for those of high-school age and for students in normal school as well as for those in college the social survey is of exceptional value. It keeps the student away from too much theorizing and brings him into the knowledge of conditions of life about him. There is needed a volume which will summarize the work done in rural social survey, and will lay down principles, as well as describe the methods of reducing social life to measurement. Without expecting too much it is fair to hope that this will introduce a corrective principle into social thinking and teaching.

The papers this afternoon have described the place of sociology in the common schools chiefly in a negative manner; but Professor Smith's is valuable in showing the implicitly sociological trend, the forming of habits rather than the teaching of theories. The statement by Dr. Devine yesterday, that social science could not be taught in sociological terms to those younger than the students in the eighth grade, seems to me reasonable; and the demand of Professor Clow for a textbook in sociology for persons in the high school expresses the precise need. Our great necessity is for clear, simple texts which will enable the high-school or normal teacher, only meagerly prepared, to teach the adolescent minds in high school or normal school to observe. After this we need a book to be used in sociological investigation, with schedules to be used in studying conditions in the surrounding region near the high school. A maximum service will be rendered in inspiring the student with a love of his own people, who must always be to him the clue to society in general.

NEWELL L. SIMS, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

As I heard only a part of the papers under discussion, my remarks may be neither altogether to the point nor illuminating to the subject. However, I wish to emphasize what has been said concerning the importance of sociological training for teachers. For it is pre-eminently through the teacher—in the broad sense of that term—disciplined in the knowledge of social life that plans, programs, and motives for social change and improvement are communicated to the people. Sociology can scarcely be applied without the diffusion of its conclusions throughout local communities, and leaders must be equipped for this task of diffusing it. To furnish the teacher with a body of sociological knowledge and experience adequate to an effective leadership in the social activities of his community is the task of the college, normal school, and university in so far as they offer instruction in sociology. But the task is one, I think we must confess, which remains largely unaccomplished in any satisfactory manner.

The difficulties, as we have been made aware this afternoon, seem to be twofold, those pertaining to the subject-matter on the one hand, and those having to do with the method on the other. We have heard a plea for a clearly defined body of materials which may be offered to teachers under the

name of sociology. Unfortunately, in answer to this plea, we are not yet prepared to say what sociology is or is to include. Our want of agreement will perhaps justify us in saying only that as yet there is no such thing as sociology.

But what I wish especially to offer has to do more with the method and less with the subject-matter. I live in a rural state. Many of the students in my department at the State University are registered in the College of Education or the College of Agriculture. They are to be teachers in the schools, county agricultural agents, and leaders in other capacities in the rural communities of Florida. In our attempt to equip them for their work, we strive to acquaint them with a body of actual, concrete, community experience. This is given in the classroom through lectures, discussions, reports on assigned topics or problems, papers, etc. Where practicable, the student is required to study in a general way his own or some other community. He is encouraged to find out what the community is, what its conditions and needs are, what it is doing for itself, etc. The community case method is emphasized throughout. The object is to make the community real to the student. We want him, if possible, to get the community sense; we want to make a little of its experience vital to him and thus to make what goes under the name of sociology with us of practical value. Focusing in this manner upon community experience has seemed to me to be the most effective method of teaching sociology to the teachers of rural Florida. I do not claim that any phenomenal results have been obtained; but the aim and the method seem to me sound. Reports coming to me from the leaders themselves who have undergone some of this training seem to bear testimony to the validity of this program of instruction in sociology.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

I am rather surprised that the task of devising a scheme for teaching sociology in the grades should be considered a part of the work of the Sociological Society. If simplified, peptonized, and camouflaged sociology is needed as a part of the curriculum of our grade schools, there is no doubt of the feasibility of developing a method of teaching this subject in the grades through the aid of the pedagogues of the country. What familiarity I have with the sociologists of America would lead me to believe that they would hardly care to arrogate this function to themselves, and that their training and experience is more along the lines of developing the theoretical and practical side of sociology, primarily as students and only incidentally as teachers.

Before we endeavor to place sociology in the grades, it is my firm belief that the various academic and professional departments of our universities need to make sociology a required part of their curriculum. It is from the universities that our leadership is recruited, and before we endeavor to popularize the principles of sociology in the kindergarten, the task of teaching sociology in every branch in our universities is still staring us in the face.

EARLE E. EUBANK, Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE, CHICAGO

The proposition of State Superintendent Cary, of Wisconsin, to introduce elementary lessons in social science into the public schools, is one worthy of serious consideration. No fundamental reason is apparent for not doing so, if proper preparation be made for its introduction exactly as is done in other branches of instruction.

The basic principles of *social* science are no more difficult to grasp than are those of *natural* science, now so successfully a part of many a grammar-school curriculum. Its materials are far more accessible than are those of history or geography, which are so large a part of our common-school course. The general subject-matter is more simple and obvious than that of physiology, for example, which is taught to tens of thousands of grammar-grade children. And certainly the subject-matter is fully as important as anything included in our common-school courses. The purpose of education is to prepare a child for life. The earlier a child can learn the elementary facts concerning the human society in which he must live, the more rational and intelligible will be his subsequent education. Is it not a bit of misplaced professional conceit which has led us in the past to regard social science as comprising "knowledge too wonderful" to be comprehended by any one below college grade?

FREDERICK R. CLOW, STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, OSHKOSH, WISCONSIN

The discussion this afternoon has borne out my contention that there is lack of agreement regarding the scope and method of sociology which baffles those who would put it to practical use. It also shows the eagerness of educators for teachable knowledge of our associated life, whether it be called sociology or something else. Until the masterpiece appears which will give some unity to our thought we must struggle along as best we may, making progress by natural selection. Let us each go home and develop his best of content or method, and give it out in the form of article, syllabus, or textbook.

THE COMMUNITY CENTER IN SOCIAL EDUCATION

JOHN COLLIER

Training School for Community Workers, New York City

The Community Center in social education will be evaluated most clearly if a certain definition be for the moment accepted. This is a conventional definition, not a generalization based on an induction from all the facts.

The Community Center is an institution through which any human interest whatsoever is brought into a relation, both useful and consciously significant, to the social enterprise.

By this definition a game center for young people is not necessarily a community center, nor is an unorganized saloon assemblage, nor a religious revival, nor a taxpayers' gathering. The Community Center either builds on or seeks to build a sentiment through which social good becomes an end in itself. Mere recognition that social process must be controlled to get specific results may have nothing to do with the existence of this sentiment through which human emotions are organized around an idea of social good.

The Community Center is therefore an endeavor, or an achievement of endeavor, toward bringing all the human interests—individual or group interests—into a relation with the social idea which, when it is established, will be automatic as an emotional reaction is automatic.

The wholly successful community center would therefore be a wholly successful social education.

What is the Community Center in fact, leaving aside conventional definitions?

The name was invented by a group of people who met in New York five years ago. In that city today it roughly distinguishes between two types of gathering. One of these, the community center, is a continuous gathering of young people and old, with

some definite aim of social service among their other aims. The other, the recreation center, is a continuous gathering of young people mostly, for play activities which are, as play should be, ends in themselves.

As the years pass these distinct types keep their distinction, nor has any Community Center yet found out how completely to envelop within itself the recreation center.

Very complicated has the Community Center grown to be. I give a single instance. In the Wingate Center, School 40, Manhattan, are the following large activities, which aggregate into the Community Center:

First, the business, social, and educational activities of Local 25 of the Garment Trade Unions—an industrial union with socialistic leanings.

Second, a vocational guidance work, following the child across his working-paper period, reaching into the neighborhood, and bringing back the child's relatives into the after-school activities.

Third, a public night school for immigrants, conducted in part on the club basis, with self-government and a forum, with dances and a general slant toward communal work.

Fourth, miscellaneous activities: meetings and entertainments by foreign national societies, parents' gatherings, literary clubs for adolescent boys and girls, mass meetings.

Fifth, experimental work on malnutrition, through which, with the co-operation of the Post Graduate Hospital, food education is carried through personal interviews and group gatherings to the families of the children in this school, one-third of whom are seriously malnourished.

The parliamentary government of this center is loose and variable. An executive secretary knits everything together, but each of the activities rules in its own sphere, free at any time to insulate itself from all the rest.

Other community centers have ventured upon binding parliamentary organization, with constitutions and treasuries running to the thousands of dollars, but these are surface details.

A parliamentary organization has value in that it ties up the junior groups in a somewhat organic way with the total doings

of the center, and dramatizes to all of the component groups the reality of the community, a thing bigger than any of them.

To get our basis for criticism, we must pass beyond the school Community Center, to the Community Council. This is a nation-wide movement, whose most complicated development has already taken place in New York.

The Community Council invites all the people living in a geographical area to become voting members. The membership is predicated on service continuously rendered. All institutions, public and private agencies, all groups whatsoever, are represented with an equal voice on an advisory council. All power resides in the individual voting membership, but the councils are promoted through an overhead executive committee with federal authority, and they send representation to a city parliament, which at an early date will become the only super-organization with power of any kind to determine policy or method for the community councils. About one hundred such councils are in actual process in New York City today, and the goal is four hundred. The Community Council uses not one but many buildings, and may use private buildings as well as public buildings, since fundamentally it is not a thing of buildings but of organized people. Its indispensable mechanism is the community clearing house, where information about the social resources is catalogued, where facilities are available for any person or agency to call into service any other person or agency. There is a central community clearing house in New York, making possible the inexpensive maintenance of local clearing houses in each council area.

Now for the actual, not imaginary, uses of community centers, community councils, in social education.

First, the Community Council, including the public school and co-ordinate with it, enables the child in school to be at the same time a partaker of adult communal interests. His Junior Council is itself autonomous, and as a producing citizen even the youngest may become a working, though not a voting, member of the adult council. Not the child only, but the child's parents, the child's teacher, is part of the Community Council. They clash or pull together in a stress which encompasses the family,

which encompasses the school, which becomes only the more intense when the child leaves his day school and, receiving his working papers, becomes an industrial worker with leisure to use as he will. The child's experience is thus invaded, not merely by the world as it accidentally is in the time and place, but by the world as it is purposefully being built through community co-operation.

My time is too brief to analyze this phase of community-council work more closely, but I can say that it is real, and can be observed whether in Kirksville, Mo., or in each of many community-council areas in New York City.

A second phase of social education, now being accomplished in community councils, is that phase incidental to the team play of groups which otherwise would remain isolated from one another. Immigrant groups, labor groups, church groups—organizations whose group-forming interests, unconscious or conscious, are modified, enriched, sometimes revolutionized, through the mere team play of group with group.

I have the time for only one more specification. It is the most fundamental and teasing element in community work. How much of disease, how much of crime, grows out of the *sense of inferiority*? How much of psychic adjustment is possible through that expansion of the ego, experienced by one who creates in another a glow of delight, who achieves and is applauded for achieving, who serves and is valued for serving, who is unexpectedly, as one of a group, lifted from mediocrity to the experience of genius? All of the problem of adjusting maladjusted people, when every negative ministration has been exhausted, resolves itself into this one problem, of aggrandizing the individual's conception of himself in a direction which is socially practicable.

We will love society when we experience ourselves in a more thrilling way by virtue of having acted upon society. The mental mechanisms are perhaps not different from those of conversion or prayer. Central, therefore, to the Community Council is the forum, the chorus, the community theater, the group dance, the salvaging of folk craft, and the discovery of new values for manual techniques which have lapsed under the influence of machine

industry. The making of society itself is involved in this problem, although we are now considering it as a problem of creating in individual spirits a loyalty to the social aim, of making each individual necessary in some way to the useful work or joyful seeking of his neighbors.

Summing up, social education tries to counterbalance the influences of a society which has become centralized, specialized, and mechanized. It tries to find, for each individual in turn, a relation of *being needed* by the source of power. It tries to personalize, to corporealize, the impersonal, extra-human Titan, the Frankenstein of social process which man has made, into which man breathes an incomplete spark of life. The Community Center is one of the efforts of social education to humanize society—to personalize society. It is conventionally distinguished as being the institution which seeks to create quickly, among all the people, a sentiment toward social good. Its dynamics are to be found in that postulate of William James: "The axis of reality runs solely through the egoistical places."

EXTENSION TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN COMMUNITIES

CECIL C. NORTH
Ohio State University

The community is a form of social grouping that lies midway between the neighborhood and the state or nation. It lacks the intimate face-to-face association of the neighborhood, and it does not have the completeness and self-sufficiency that characterizes the nation or the state. In American life the term community generally connotes a group living within a rather closely prescribed geographical area, the members of which are bound together by the necessity or convenience of fulfilling certain essential needs in a co-operative or communal way. Local government is probably the most distinguishing feature of a community. That is, the geographical and spiritual boundaries of the community will generally closely approximate those of the local governmental unit. The city or town or village, the township, or the county usually constitutes the community.

While the relations of the members of a community do lack the intimacy of the neighborhood and the larger aspects of national life, the community is nevertheless an exceedingly important form of social grouping. It is the unit which in American life at least is the agency through which by far the largest part of all the co-operative or communal tasks is accomplished. It is important to note some of the more significant of these community tasks. The protection of the person and the property of the citizen from injury or violence is, in times of peace, almost wholly a community responsibility. The contacts of the citizen with governmental agencies are almost exclusively with those of local government. The protection of the health of the individual by public-health agencies falls almost entirely upon the local health authority, as does also the enactment and administration of regulations for

housing and the removal of wastes. Public education in the common and secondary branches is an affair of the local community. Recreation, while falling to some extent within the narrower confines of the neighborhood, is still chiefly a community matter, as is evidenced by the patronage of the theater, the moving-picture house, the public dance hall, the municipal playground, and the civic celebration. The satisfaction of intellectual and aesthetic interests is limited very definitely by the community provision for a library, art museums, lecture courses, concerts, and similar activities. The standards of personal and civic morality that the individual is called upon to maintain, while reflecting national points of view to a considerable degree, nevertheless have a distinctly local color, and the social control that is operative for their enforcement is largely one of the local community. Even the assimilation of the immigrant to the national life must be accomplished in the long run by community agencies. The immigrant interprets the national life by the community life, and the efficiency of any program of national assimilation is measured by the success of the local community agencies.

In most or all of these tasks which we have listed as belonging primarily to the local community it is true that the nation and the state have certain functions. But the nation and state are mediated to the individual generally through a community agency. For example, control or support of local health or educational matters by the federal or state authority is accomplished through the community agency. As the citizen sees the affairs of the outside world through the eyes of the local newspaper, so he touches the life of the world almost wholly through those social organizations and institutions that function within the confines of the local community. Even the family, which is of all forms of grouping the most influential upon the life of the individual, is affected very considerably by other local institutions in its ability to render proper service to the individual. The difference between good and bad family life is frequently a difference of housing, public health, and educational and recreational influences.

In the rethinking of democracy that has been forced upon us there must be given considerable place for a better solution of local community problems than any democracy has thus far attained.

If it should be found that democracy like charity should begin at home, have we not a considerable task before us in learning how to provide for those elemental social needs that the local community must supply?

It is evident that if organized education is to be assigned a larger part in building the new democracy than it has had before, it must address itself with increasing efficiency to the problems of everyday life. The local community, with its problems of organization and technique, has not come in for any very careful attention from any body of academic students. It is significant that a very large number of the books on local community problems that have been published in recent years have been written by men other than those in academic life; and, with a few exceptions, university extension has meant agricultural extension work.

There have been, it is true, some significant examples of extension teaching in sociology, but it has been chiefly of a purely academic kind. It has consisted of correspondence courses given to individuals who wished to secure credit toward a degree from a university, or of lecture courses given before clubs, reading courses, or classes made up of a few persons whose interest was chiefly cultural. Manifestly the effect of such courses on the life of a community must be extremely small.

The kind of sociological teaching that is needed in communities is one that will reinforce the life of the community and enable it to perform more effectually those tasks for which the local community is responsible. It must have the whole community as its objective and some one or more phases of the actual life of the particular community as its point of attack. Only as our extension teaching makes this direct connection with the real life of a real community can we expect it to have any vital results.

This implies that the teaching program shall be a part of an effort by the community to realize a more complete development of its communal life. The provision of instruction in any form must have a background of conscious effort within the community itself to promote some kind of a practical program.

The part of the university is therefore rather definitely determined. The initiative comes from the community or from some group within the community, however small, in the form of a

request for assistance in the solution of some such problem as recreation, health, child welfare, or education. The community needs the technical information and the vision which the university can supply, but it also needs some local machinery for applying that information and vision to its local problem.

It is generally the case that the need is at first realized only by a very small group. There is not sufficient intelligence or interest to provide an organization without outside assistance. The initial work of the university may therefore have to be to provide such information and stimulus as are necessary for laying the foundation of a community organization. But whether the work of the university is prior to or follows the creation of a community organization, it is this local organization for community welfare that must be the responsible agency for making the information and vision of the university effective in the community life.

The most fundamental problem in the whole educational program is the development of the self-consciousness of the community. Until the citizens of a community are collectively conscious of the organic nature of their community problems there can be no definitely promoted program. The problems of the public school, the public health of the community, the recreational system, the city plan, the care of the dependent and delinquent groups, the aesthetic and intellectual life of the community—all these and others must come to lie in the mind of the average citizen as parts of a whole. And the different groups interested in promoting these various phases of the common life must see the common life of the whole as that for which each exists. Where some groundwork in the development of such community self-consciousness is the first piece of instruction that can be undertaken profitably, the survey and the public exhibit of findings are probably the most effective instruments. It takes very little ready-developed interest to make it possible to have a study made of one or more of the problems of the community by some outside agency; and the survey and the exhibit are themselves important means of education when directed by a university department of sociology with correct standards of social research.

On the foundation of public interest and of vision created by this preliminary work some form of community organization can be

effected, if it does not already exist. This autonomous responsible organization must furnish the medium through which the further university instruction may reach the community, and the scope and nature of the instruction must be determined by the program of this organization.

The particular methods of instruction must depend on the ends sought and the groups in the community which furnish the clientèle. In addition to the survey and exhibit two methods have been found particularly valuable, namely, the so-called conference or institute and the class of selected students. The institute may extend from a day to a week. What the agricultural colleges call the extension school is a series of lectures, talks, and exhibits extending over one week. Its value is manifestly much greater than a brief session of a day or two, and when the discussion is confined to a limited field it has possibilities of considerable permanence in results. In communities of considerable size several conferences might be held during the year, covering different problems and appealing to different groups in the community.

The class of selected students undoubtedly has possibilities of still greater permanency in results. Such a group, made up of public-school teachers, social workers, recreation leaders, public-health nurses, or municipal-department employees, might follow a course during a considerable part of the year. The content of the course could be either technical or fundamental.

The kind of teaching program here outlined calls for a specially organized department of the university or a special division of the department of sociology. It should include a bureau of social research and a division of community service. The bureau of social research should collect material for a permanent exhibit on the recent development in various phases of community life and have illustrative and technical information available for the communities in its territory that might call upon it. It should also be engaged constantly in investigating social problems within its territory and publishing the results. The division of community service should maintain a director for conducting social surveys, making exhibits, and rendering assistance to communities desiring to promote local organizations for community welfare. Some such staff as is now provided by agricultural colleges for extension work should be

available for providing instruction through conferences, institutes, and regular classes for selected students.

While such a piece of work as is described above would be planned primarily for the benefit of the communities which would be served, the reaction on the regular academic work within the institution would more than justify the movement. It would give to all the instruction in the department such a sense of reality that students in social theory would be protected from the ever-present danger of abstractness and detachment from life that constantly haunts academic instruction. It would moreover provide rich material for reports and special investigations for academic students. Finally, by utilizing graduate and advanced students in the surveys and in social research it would provide a training ground vastly superior to any other possible means. The bread cast on the waters of community service would be returned a hundred fold in the enrichment of the instruction and training within the walls.

DISCUSSION

JOHN L. GILLIN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

First, a point of difference from the speaker. He says that the most distinguishing feature of a community is local government. Professor C. J. Galpin in his study of the *Anatomy of a Rural Community* has shown that on the basis of what is practically Professor North's definition of a community it is not true that local government is the most distinguishing feature of a community. According to his analysis of the ties which bind the members of a community together they are not the "city or town or village, the township, or the county" which "usually constitutes the community." The ties are chiefly economic interests, cultural concerns, personal relationships, and geographical features of the country like streams and roads. A moment's reflection on a concrete situation will show that the people who make up a community on the basis of the definition given by the speaker, that is, "a group living within a rather closely prescribed geographical area, the members of which are bound together by the necessity or convenience of fulfilling certain essential needs in a co-operative or communal way," are not limited in this co-operation by the artificial local government boundaries. Into the center of the community, which may be a city or a village or even a church, a schoolhouse, and a grocery store at the four corners, come people for many purposes from other local government units. People who live along a road leading into the community's center do not stop to ask whether the political boundary stops at any particular place, when they wish to trade there, or when

they contemplate going to church, or when they start for an evening's entertainment. Their milk goes to a certain point without reference to the local government's boundaries. The paper *from wherever* pays no attention to political boundaries. Only the school and the voting-place are limited in their appeal by local government boundaries. In fact, the political unit of local government is probably the least important feature of a community. People are less bound together "in a co-operative or communal way" by the ties of political interests than by those of business, cultural, and natural social relationships. I emphasize this point only because I think it is of importance in any plan of extending the teaching of sociology to communities outside the university that not so much attention be paid to political lines as to the interests which bind people together.

I am glad to hear Professor North emphasize the importance of having the university in charge of the survey and exhibit, which he thinks is the chief means of arousing the consciousness of the community to its social needs. I am inclined to feel, however, that the survey and exhibit must in some cases be put aside for the more usual methods of personal conference or public address. Some places which need the university's service most cannot be persuaded to have a survey and exhibit first.

The speaker is quite right in saying that so far as the extension movement in general is concerned most of it has been agricultural extension. I infer that he is speaking of its volume. I am sure that that is not the case as far as extension teaching of sociology is concerned, especially in the Middle West. There the leaders in the extension teaching of sociology are the state universities. Kansas with its extension bureau on child welfare, its social surveys, and its business men's institutes; Iowa with its business men's institutes, emphasizing not only business problems but also social problems connected with business, and its business and social surveys; Minnesota and North Dakota with their welfare lectures and their classes in welfare problems; Indiana with her community institutes and the varied activities of her various bureaus in the extension division and the medical school and department of sociology; and Wisconsin with not only her extensive correspondence-study department, her department of lectures, which puts on a great many sociological and economic lectures, her package libraries, many of which bear upon social problems of which communities have become conscious, and her department of general welfare with four bureaus each devoted to extending the work of the various departments of the university which deal with community problems, and with its widespread community institutes, social-problems conference, business men's congress, its community-center adviser, its municipal-problems adviser—these are examples of the attempt of some of the universities to meet the need of carrying sociological teaching to the communities about them.

The movement is young. It has made mistakes. It will probably make others. It has, however, performed a service which communities have wished

for and appreciate, and which has not yet been fully realized and is not appreciated in many academic circles. It is a movement which all sociologists should welcome, and which we should seek to influence. We should use its facilities, as Professor North suggests, in order to give to our teaching a sense of reality by forcing us to talk about things that common people comprehend in a language which they can understand.

W. S. BITTNER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR IN CHARGE OF PUBLIC-WELFARE
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The term *community* may well be defined largely by local and restricted boundaries, but too much emphasis cannot be given to the importance of extra-local factors governing the life of the small community. When we consider the question of social education through the community we must have in mind such broad categories as the state, the nation, and communities of nations, as well as that social grouping which is confined to a distinct geographical area. Each greater community should have powerful educational forces giving energy and direction to the education of the people in the lesser community.

Accordingly the implications of the phrase *social education through the community* may be very broad. Some of the implications are, briefly, that there is, or should be, a new or wider direction for education with aims higher and better than any education of the recent past; that educators or teachers should accept whole-heartedly the theory that civilization can be directed to result in better and more life for all individuals, groups, and peoples; that a less individualistic kind of teaching, a kind that inspires persons as consciously integral parts of communities, is the chief hope of achieving this new direction. It necessarily follows that new instruments of social teaching should be developed—men and women, organizations and institutions.

The crisis of the war illustrates the necessity; in order to accomplish the winning of the war and the great social gains presumably bound up with that victory, powerful forces of social education had to be quickly and greatly projected. Practically every sober person recognizes that it was psychologically impossible for the United States to enter the war many weeks or months before the declaration in April. Everybody knows that tremendous effort was required to develop public opinion sufficiently to permit of effective mobilization of all our forces after our entrance into the war. That effort took unprecedented forms; the diversity of the methods employed and their magnitude are significant.

The new methods and the amazingly extended old methods of developing public opinion and securing united community action succeeded admirably in war; they should be utilized for salutary ends in time of peace.

That new methods of social teaching are required, if democracy is ever to grow rapidly beyond political forms, demands little argument. Most of the teaching of the schools is individual, is intended primarily to fit each student for

individual success, to give him some of the tools of trade or profession and incidentally some of the rudiments of social intercourse. At least the emphasis in formal instruction is individualistic, and the machinery is designed to turn out self-sufficient units. The social teaching which does appear in the schools, and which is evident in the work of numerous agencies not confined to school or college walls, aims blindly and feebly to develop co-operations, to promote understanding of and ability to participate in group undertakings, to facilitate social progress as it may be well or ill conceived. Unfortunately there are many organizations which are antisocial in their teaching—a political party which does not hesitate to use any device to mold public opinion to its support even though national or international interests may be endangered, or a system of newspapers which manufactures the case for military intervention in Russia with little regard for social consequences. Social education has not been well directed, its aims have not been clearly and unselfishly visioned, because it has not had the concerted attention of students, educators, and statesmen working through universal public institutions. The agencies of social education are largely private, unrelated, and haphazard in their activities. Too often their antisocial tendencies cannot be checked, because no alert and sufficiently powerful informing body exists to blast them with the truth. The instruments of community education are not generally supported by public funds, they are not adequately fostered by the state.

The survival or success theory dominantly behind the bulk of our individualistic teaching works indifferently well so far as it goes, but even though it should be greatly extended, it will always be limited by failure in social co-operations. That is, merely to fit individuals for work and the practice of art or culture ignores in effect the necessity of having available for everybody adequate work and art and tolerable conditions for their exercise, with proper training and knowledge for the multitude to apply the right vision and technique, to make it possible for all to live together well.

The following suggestions as to the kind of instruments of social education which we need to project into and through communities include some that exhibited remarkable effectiveness during the war.

Undoubtedly we need as devices for social teaching more and greater associations of persons and peoples; also more official or semigovernmental organizations devoted to teaching for the common welfare.

To cite examples of the first group, we need a co-ordinating association in every community, which may be a community or neighborhood center, which will perform some of the functions developed by municipal research bureaus, survey committees, chambers of commerce, federations of clubs, but will unify them for the good of the whole community. We need a League of Nations, a device for teaching whole peoples to live in the same world together under the compulsion of consciously adopted forms of co-operation. We need more international labor unions, commercial associations, professional and educational bodies, devices for educating the members of comparatively homogeneous

groups for common understandings. Social education is a work too great and complex to be left to small instruments and inadequate institutions, whether they function primarily in the small community or in the large.

To cite examples of the second group, we need more organizations for public service, like the United States Department of Agriculture, the Department of the Interior, the Children's Bureau. We need a Department of Education with a Division of Educational Extension to discover and develop adequate devices for social teaching. Such governmental agencies should partially direct and to a large extent enliven the educational forces inherent in the small community. In every community there should be more public-service organizations, some of them semiofficial, others voluntary—a public-health station, with community nurses; an agricultural station, with farm and garden specialists; a laboratory and dispensary for home economics, with "home demonstrator agents"; a recreation center, with secretary and staff; a forum; a community press. The community is important enough to employ continuously an adequate staff of specialists in community education.

University Extension has been striving for over a decade to adapt some of the educational devices of the laboratory and classroom, and other educational instruments, to the exigencies of practical social education through the community. It remained for the war to furnish the occasion for wholesale elaboration of the idea of educational extension. No mean results were accomplished by the propaganda of the Food Administration, the War Savings organizations, the councils of defense, the Committee on Public Information, the speakers' bureaus, the Home Service institutes of the Red Cross, the school-house associations, the voluntary-service groups. It remains for new-time educators to hold fast to the idea of educational extension and to perfect the instruments of social teaching through the community.

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One point in Professor North's paper that is open to question is that the geographical and spiritual boundaries of a community will generally closely approximate those of the local government unit. The studies that have been made of rural life during recent years reveal the fact that one of the most serious handicaps to rural-community progress today is that political boundaries fixed under pioneer conditions no longer conform to the spiritual or geographic boundaries of communities. The necessity is very clear of having a nation-wide survey made to determine what the spiritual boundaries of modern rural communities really are as a basis for bringing political boundaries into harmony with the spiritual boundaries. The unit for taxation in rural education is a case in point. In many cases the village which is the real community center is located on the edge of a township with the result that con-

solidated schools are located in some instances at the center of the township instead of in the village as they should be.

The same difficulty in local development arises when township, county, or state boundaries run through spiritual centers. In such cases uniformity in development of public utilities, educational systems, or in public-safety control is difficult to obtain.

In large urban centers the unity of the spiritual life is definitely interfered with by the existence of political lines, and the development of the community activities of the entire metropolitan area is thereby seriously handicapped. In many ways the interests of New York City would be better conserved were normal city boundaries given precedence over state boundaries.

Professor North has called attention to one of the most serious drawbacks in university work in this country in mentioning the lack of adequate provision for extension work in social education. In agricultural-extension work extension departments have grown until they have become a most important part of the work of agricultural colleges. Yet to date even in agricultural extension the work is dominated largely by ideals of teaching people to produce wealth. From the farmers' point of view in a competitive system there is serious question as to whether this is now or will be the most helpful since increased production is likely to bring lowered prices to the farmer. Thus the very part of agricultural-extension work heralded so widely as of value to the farmer is really a greater contribution to the urban resident and most deserves his support. In few states is there yet any adequate program of teaching farmers business methods in co-operation or in principles of community organization for social efficiency. But little work has yet been done to provide extension courses to all the people, both rural and urban, along lines that will make popular understanding of social or economic problems safe for democracy. The great problems of the present time are not problems of wealth production, but of adjustment in distribution of wealth, and of caring for physical, recreational, social, and religious life so that what is produced will be a social asset instead of a liability. It would be a real contribution to the solution of this problem if this body or some similar group could take action calling attention of our educational authorities in some adequate way to the attitude of the students of social life in regard to the necessity of an aggressive program of social education for the masses of the people who will never enter institutions of higher learning as students.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

It seems to me hardly feasible to organize through the Sociological Society any concerted effort toward the development of a program of social legislation that would be country-wide. Most of the social legislation needed relates to state affairs and is subject to enactment only by state legislatures. The diversity of constitutional law in each state and the peculiar needs of each

state must be met locally by persons especially familiar with the exigencies of the local problems, and could not be promoted by national committees of sociologists.

Where federal legislation is necessary there are well-established, properly financed agencies which have carried on research for years and which are amply able to promote such interests as are representative of the National Child Labor Committee, the National Prison Committee, the Association for Labor Legislation, the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, and other organizations of similar character.

J. F. STEINER, AMERICAN RED CROSS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

We have just listened to interesting theories as to methods of rural social organization. It ought to be worth while to evaluate some of the significant experiments that are actually being tried out.

Under the auspices of the Home Service of the Red Cross, one type of rural-social organization has been going on during the past year throughout our entire country. Home Service is that part of the work of the Red Cross that has to do with the welfare of soldiers' families. The organization for this work has included the smallest communities as well as the larger cities. Home Service sections have been established in connection with Red Cross chapters in small and remote places where social work had never before been attempted. Although this work was sufficiently technical to require a trained worker to be in charge, it has been well supported in general and has demonstrated the possibility of social work on a wide scale in the smaller towns and rural communities.

It is interesting, therefore, to know something of the principles upon which this work was based. From the point of view of rural organization two outstanding features of Home Service policy are especially worthy of attention.

The first of these is the utilization of trained leadership developed from within the local community itself. The Red Cross from the very beginning of its plans for Home Service made preparations to train its own workers. This was accomplished by establishing in various places Home Service institutes and chapter courses. The Institute, which was organized in thirty of the largest cities in co-operation with colleges and universities, consisted of a six weeks' course comprising lectures, assigned readings, and practical field work under supervision. Each Home Service section was urged to send one representative to an institute to receive this training. During the past year 1100 have graduated from these Institutes and in many instances are now serving as Home Service secretaries in small towns and communities.

The chapter courses were of a briefer nature and were established in local chapters in order to give some measure of training to Home Service representatives responsible for the work within the various districts of the chapter's jurisdiction. These courses were under the direction of a trained worker from

the Division Office and were intended to acquaint the worker with the fundamental factors involved in social work with families.

In this way each community, no matter how small, had its own leaders working in accordance with a definite policy based upon the best experience of well-trained teachers. This made Home Service a vital part of each community and gained for it enthusiastic support.

The second factor in Home Service of significance in connection with a discussion of rural problems is the supervision of the work of each community by the division and national offices. This supervision was carried on by means of field visits of inspection, conferences, correspondence, and printed instructions. In each of the thirteen division offices is a field staff constantly occupied in making visits to the Home Service sections within its jurisdiction.

The experience of the past year has clearly indicated the impracticability of building up a social-service organization in more or less isolated places without definite provision for adequate supervision. Inspiration must be gained by contact with outside workers who are doing things. There is needed the incentive which comes from belonging to a great movement engaged in working on a common task.

Through its policy of education and supervision the Red Cross has demonstrated the possibility of organizing successfully the smaller communities to meet their local needs.

EARLE E. EUBANK, Y.M.C.A. COLLEGE, CHICAGO

If an inhabitant of Mars had sat through the sessions of this annual meeting, up to this point at least he would have obtained no hint from any part of the program that we have just passed through the greatest of all wars and are now at the beginning of a period of readjustment which shall undoubtedly affect the future of the race.

Would it not seem that this Society might well devote a part of the time of these sessions to contributions toward the task of reconstruction instead of giving the entire two days to matters not directly related to the big questions uppermost in the mind of the world? Individually, practically everyone here is in one way or another making an important contribution to the nation's readjustment, and this makes it the more strange that in this particular gathering we have so little to say upon the topic. The nation has a right to expect some contributions from us as a Society more than from almost any other for group, our *profession* is the scientific study of human relations.

THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY TO UNDERGRADUATES¹

ARTHUR J. TODD
University of Minnesota

The teaching of sociology as a definite college subject in the United States began at Yale nearly forty-five years ago. Since 1873 it has been introduced into nearly two hundred American colleges, universities, normal schools, and seminaries. A study of this teaching in 1910 revealed over 700 courses offered to over 8,000 undergraduates and 1,100 graduate students. It is safe to assume a steady growth during the last six years. Hence the problem of teaching is of no little concern to sociologists. The American Sociological Society early recognized this fact and in 1909 appointed a Committee of Ten to report on certain aspects of the problem. But that all teachers of sociology have not grasped the bearing of pedagogy upon their work is clear from complaints still heard from students that sociology is vague, indefinite, abstract, dull, or scattered. Not long ago some bright members of a class were overheard declaring that their professor must have been struck by a gust of wind which scattered his notes every day before getting to his desk.

Sociology is simply a way of looking at the same world of reality which every other science looks at in its own way. It cannot therefore depart far from the pedagogical principles tried out in teaching other subjects. It must utilize the psychology of attention, interest, drill, the problem method, procedure from the student's known to the new, etc. The universal pitfalls have been charted for all teachers by the educational psychologists. In addition, sociology may offer a few on its own account, partly because it is new, partly because a general agreement as to the content of fundamentals in

¹A chapter in Professor Paul Klapper's forthcoming book on *College Teaching*. Copyright, 1917, by World Book Co.

sociology courses is just beginning to make itself felt, partly because there is so far no really good textbook available as a guide to the beginner.

Specific methods of teaching vary according to individual temperament, the "set" of the teacher's mind; according to his bias of class, birth, or training; according to whether he has been formed or deformed by some strong personality whose disciple he has become; according to whether he is a radical or a conservative; according to whether he is the dreamy, idealistic type or whether he hankers after concrete facts; according to whether sociology is a primary interest or only an incidental, more or less unwelcome.

Hence part of the difficulty, though by no means all, comes from the fact that sociology is frequently expounded by men who have received no specific training themselves in the subject, or who have had the subject thrust upon them as a side issue. In this connection it is interesting to note that in 1910 sociology was "given" in only twenty cases by sociology departments, in sixty-three by combinations of economics, history, and politics, in eleven by philosophy and psychology, in two by economics and applied Christianity or theology, in one by practical theology!

Whatever the path which led into the sociological field or whatever the bias of temperament, experience justifies several preliminary hints for successful teaching. First, avoid the voice, the yearning manner, and the gesture of the preacher. Sociology needs the cool-headed analyst rather than the social revivalist. Let the sentimentalist and the muckraker stay with their lecture circuits and the newspapers. The student wants enthusiasm and inspiration rather than sentimentality.

Second, renounce the lecture, particularly with young students. There is no surer method of blighting the interest of students, of murdering their minds, and of ossifying the instructor than to persist in the pernicious habit of the formal lecture. Some men plead large classes in excuse. If they were honest with themselves they would usually find that they like large classes as a subtle sort of compliment to themselves. Given the opportunity to break up a class of two hundred into small discussion groups they would frequently refuse, on the score that they would lose a fine opportunity

to influence a large group. Dodge it as you will the lecture is and will continue to be an unsatisfactory, even vicious, way of attempting to teach social science. No reputable university tries to teach economics or politics nowadays in huge lecture sections. Only an abnormal conceit or abysmal poverty will prevent sociology departments from doing likewise. Remember that education is always an exchange, never a free gift.

Third, do not be afraid to utilize commonplace facts and illustrations. A successful professor of sociology writes me that he can remember that what are mere commonplaces now were revelations to him at twenty-one. Two of the greatest teachers of the nineteenth century, Faraday and Huxley, attributed their success to the simple maxim, take nothing for granted. It is safe to assume that most students come from homes where business and petty neighborhood doings are the chief concern, and where a broad, well-informed outlook on life is rare. Since so many of my colleagues insist that young Ph.D.'s tend constantly to "shoot over the heads" of their students, the best way of avoiding this particular pitfall seems to lie along the road of simple, elementary, concrete fact. The discussion method in the classroom will soon put the instructor right if he has gone to the other extreme of depreciating his students through kindergarten methods. Likewise he can guard against being oracular and pedantic by letting out his superior stores of information through free discussion in the Socratic fashion. Nothing is more important to good teaching than the knack of apt illustration. While to a certain extent it can be taught, just as the art of telling a humorous story or making a presentation speech can be communicated by teachers of oral English, yet in the long run it is rather a matter of spontaneous upwellings from a well-stored mind. For example, suppose a class is studying the factors of variation and selection in social evolution: the instructor shows how Nature loves averages not only by statistics and experiments with the standard curve of distribution, but also, if he is a really illuminated teacher, by reference, say, to the legend of David and Goliath, the fairy tale of Little One-Eye, Little Two-Eye, Little Three-Eye, and Lincoln's famous aphorism to the effect that the Lord must love the common people because he made so many of

them. Sad experience advises that it is unsafe for an instructor any longer to assume that college Sophomores are familiar with the Old Testament, classic myths, or Greek and Roman history. Hence he must beware of using any recondite allusions or illustrations which themselves need so much explanation that their bearing on the immediate problem in hand is obscured. An illustration, like a funny story, loses its pungency if it requires a scholium.

Fourth, adhere to what a friend calls the 16-to-1 basis, sixteen parts fact and one part theory. Fifth, eschew the professor's chair. The blackboard is the teacher's "next friend." Recent time-motion studies lead us to believe that no man can use a blackboard efficiently unless he stands! The most celebrated teaching in history was peripatetic. Sixth, postpone the reconciling of discrepant social theorizing to the tougher-hided Seniors or graduate students, and stick to the presentation of "accessible realities." Finally, an occasional friendly meeting with students, say once or twice a semester at an informal supper, will create an atmosphere of co-operative learning, will break down the traditional barriers of hostility between master and pupil, and may incidentally bring to the surface many useful hints for the framing of discussion problems.

To a certain extent teaching methods are determined by the age of the students. In 1910 of all the institutions reporting seventy-three stated that sociology instruction began in the Junior year; twenty-three admitted Sophomores; four, Freshmen; thirty-nine, Seniors. But the unmistakable drift is in the direction of introducing sociology earlier in the college curriculum, and even into secondary and elementary schools. Hence the cautions voiced above tend to become all the more imperative. Moreover, while in the past it has been possible to exact history, economics, political science, philosophy, psychology, or education as prerequisite to beginning work in sociology, in view of the downward trend of sociology courses it becomes increasingly more difficult to take things for granted in the student's preparation. Until the dream of offering a semester or year of general social science to all Freshmen as the introduction to work in the specialized branches of social science comes true, the sociologist must communicate to his elementary classes a sense of the relations between his view of social

phenomena and the aspects of the same phenomena which the historian, the economist, the political scientist, and the psychologist handle.

Both the content and methods of sociological instruction are determined also in part by what its purpose is conceived to be. A study of the beginnings of teaching this subject in the United States shows that it was prompted primarily by practical ends. For example, the American Social Science Association proposal in 1878 in so far as it covered the field of sociology included only courses on punishment and reformation of criminals, public and private charities, prevention of vice. President White of Cornell in 1871 recommended a course of practical instruction "calculated to fit young men to discuss intelligently such important social questions as the best methods of dealing practically with pauperism, intemperance, crime of various degrees and among persons of different ages, insanity, idiocy, and the like." Columbia University early announced that a university situated in such a city full of problems at a time when "industrial and social progress is bringing the modern community face to face with social questions of the greatest magnitude, the solution of which will demand the best scientific study and the most honest practical endeavor," must provide facilities for bringing university study into connection with practical work. In 1901 definite practical courses shared honors of first place with the elementary or general course in college announcements. The situation was practically the same ten years later. Still more recently Professor Blackmar, one of the veterans in sociology teaching, worked out rather an elaborate program of what he called a "reasonable department of sociology for colleges and universities." In spite of the fact that theoretical, biological, anthropological, and psychological aspects of the subject were emphasized, his conclusion was that "the whole aim is to ground sociology in general utility and social service. It is a preparation for social efficiency."

The principle of adaptation to environment comes into play also in the choice of teaching methods. An urban department can send its students directly into the field for first-hand observation of industry, housing, sanitation, congestion, playgrounds, immigrat-

tion, etc., and may encourage "supervised field work" as fulfilling course requirements. But the country or small-town department far removed from large cities must emphasize rural social study, or get its urban data second hand through print, charts, photographs, or lantern slides. A semester excursion to the city or to some state charitable institution adds a touch of vividness to the routine class work. But "slumming parties" are to be ruthlessly tabooed, particularly when featured in the newspapers. Social science is not called upon to make experimental guinea-pigs of the poor simply because of their poverty and inability to protect themselves.

For many reasons the most serious problems of teaching sociology center about the elementary or introductory course. Advanced undergraduate and graduate courses usually stand or fall by the inherent appeal of their content as organized by the peculiar genius of the instructor. If the student has been able to weather the storms of his "Introduction" he will usually have gained enough momentum to carry him along even against the adverse winds of bad pedagogy in the upper academic zones. Since the whole purpose of sociology is the very practical purpose of giving the student mental tools with which to think straight on societal problems (what Comte called the "social point of view"), and since usually only a comparatively small number find it possible to specialize in advanced courses, the introductory course assumes what at first sight might seem a disproportionate importance. Only one or two teachers of sociology so far as I know discount the value of an elementary course. The rest are persuaded of its fundamental importance, and many, therefore, consider it a breach of trust to turn over this course to green, untried instructors. Partly as a recruiting device for their advanced courses, partly from this sense of duty, they undertake instruction of beginners. But it is often impossible for the veteran to carry this elementary work: he must commit it to younger men. For that reason the remainder of this paper will be given over to a discussion of teaching methods for such an elementary course, with younger teachers in mind.

First, two or three general hints. It is unwise, to say the least, to attempt to cover the social universe in one course. Better a few, simple concepts, abundantly illustrated, organized clearly and

systematically. Perhaps it is dangerous to suggest a few recurrent catch phrases to serve as guiding threads throughout the course; but that was the secret of the old ballad and the folk-tale. Homer and the makers of fairy tales combined art and pedagogy in their use of descriptive epithets. Such a phrase as Ward's "struggle for existence is struggle for structure" might furnish the framework of a whole course. "Like-mindedness," "interest groups," "belief-groups," "folkways," are also convenient refrains.

Nobody but a thoroughgoing pedant will drag his students through two weeks of lectures and a hundred pages of text at the beginning of the course in the effort to define sociology and chart all its affinities and relations with every other science. Twenty minutes at the first class meeting should suffice to develop an understanding of what the scientific attitude is and a tentative definition of sociology. The whole course is its definition. At the end of the term the very best way of indicating the relation of sociology to other sciences is through suggestions about following up the leads obtained in the course by work in biology, economics, psychology, and other fields. This correlation of the student's program gives him an intimate sense of the unity in diversity of the whole range of science.

If the student is to avoid several weeks of floundering, he should be led directly to observe societal relations in the making. This can perhaps be accomplished best through assigning a series of four problems at the first class meetings. Problem I: To show how each student spins a web of social relationship. Let him take a sheet of paper, mark a dot representing himself in the middle of it, then add dots and connecting lines for every individual or institution he forms a contact with during the next two or three days. He will get a result approximating the diagram in Fig. 1.

Problem II: To show how neighborhoods are socially bound up. Let the student take a section, say two or three blocks square in a district he knows well, and map it, showing all the contacts. Again he will get a web somewhat like Fig. 2.

These diagrams are adapted from student reports. If they seem absurdly simple it is well to remember that experience reveals the student's amazing lack of ability to visualize social relationships

without some such device. These diagrams, however, should serve merely as the point of departure. Add to them charts showing the

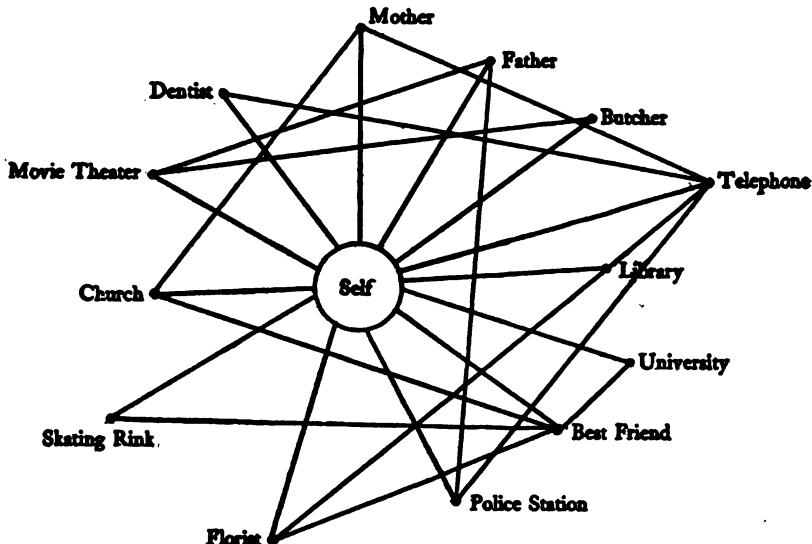


FIG. 1

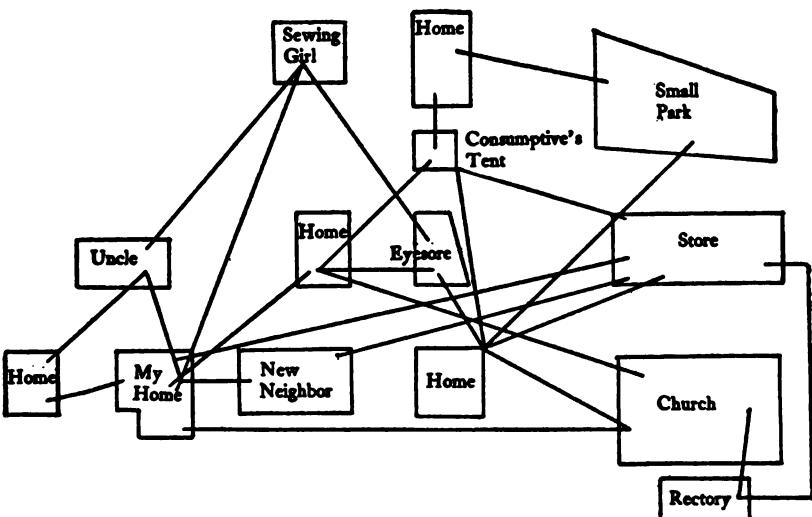


FIG. 2

sources of milk and other food supplies of a large city, and a sense of the interdependence and reciprocity of city and country will develop. Take a Mercator's projection map of the world and draw the trade routes and immigration streams to indicate international solidarities. Such diagrams as the famous health tract "A Day in the Life of a Fly" or the story of Typhoid Mary are helpful in establishing how closely a community is bound together.

Problem III: To show the variety and kinds of social activities, i.e., activities that bring two or more people into contact. Have the student note down even the homeliest sorts of such activities, the butcher, the postman, the messenger boy; insist that he go out and look instead of guessing or reading; require him to group these activities under headings which he may work out for himself. He will usually arrive at three or four, such as getting a living, recreation, political. It may be wise to ask him to grade these activities as helpful, harmful, strengthening, or weakening, in order to accustom him to the idea that sociology must treat of good, bad, and indifferent objects.

Problem IV: To determine what the preponderant social interests and activities are as judged by the amount of time men devote to them. Let the student try a "time budget" for a fortnight. For this purpose Giddings suggests a large sheet of paper ruled for a wide left-hand margin and thirty-two narrow columns; the first twenty-four columns for hours of the day, the twenty-fifth for the word daily, and the last seven for the seven days of the week. In the margin the student writes the names of every activity of whatever description during the waking hours. This will furnish excellent training in exact habits of observation and recording and inductive generalization. When the summary is made at the end of the fortnight the student will have worked out for himself the habitual "planes of interest" along which social activities lie.

At this point he ought to have convinced himself that the subject-matter of sociology is concrete reality, not moonshine. Moreover he should be able to lay down certain fundamental marks of a social group, such as a common impulse to get together, common sentiments, ideas, and beliefs, reciprocal service. From the discovery of habitual planes of interest (self-maintenance, self-perpetuation,

self-assertion, self-subordination, etc.) it is a simple step to show diagrammatically how each interest impels an activity, which tends to precipitate itself into a social habit or institution.

Inner Urge or Interest (Instinct or Disposition)	Motor Expression in Activity	Resultant Group Habit or Institution
Hunger: will to live; The food quest self-maintenance		Economic technique, property, in- ventions, material arts of life
Sex: self-perpetuation	Procreation and parenthood	The family, ancestor worship, courts of domestic relations, patriarchal government, etc.

The way is now clear for the two next steps, the concepts of causation and development. Here again why not follow the egocentric plan of starting with what the student knows? Ask him to write a brief but careful autobiography answering the question, How have I come to be what I am? What influences, personal or otherwise, have played upon me?¹ The student is almost certain to lay hold of the principle of determining or controlling forces, and of evolution or change; he may even be able to analyze rather clearly the different types of control which have co-operated in his development.

From this start it is easy to develop the genetic concept of social life. The individual grows from simple to complex. Why not the race? Here introduce a comparison between the social group known to the student, a retarded group (such as MacClintock's or Vincent's study of the Kentucky mountaineers²) or a frontier community, and a contemporary primitive tribe (say, the Hupa or Seri Indians, Negritos, Bontoc Igorot, Bangala, Kafirs, Yakuts, Eskimo or Andaman Islanders). Require a detailed comparison arranged in parallel columns on such points as size, variety of occupations, food supply, security of life, institutions, family life, language, religion, superstitions, and opportunities for culture.

These two points of departure—the student's interest in his own personality and the community influences that have molded it, and the comparative study of a primitive group—should har-

¹ In order to secure frank statements, both these autobiographies and the time budgets may be handed in anonymously.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, IV, 1-20; VII, 1-28, 171-87.

monize the two chief rival views of teaching sociologists, namely, those who urge the approach to sociology through anthropology and those who find the best avenue through the concrete knowledge of the *socius*. Moreover, it lays a foundation for a discussion of the antiquity of man, his kinship with other living things, and his evolution; that is, the biological presupposition of human society. Here let me testify to the great help which Osborn's photographs² of reconstructions of the Pithecanthropos, Piltdown, Neanderthal, and Crô-Magnon types have rendered in clearing away prejudices and in vivifying the remote past. Religious apprehensions in particular may be allayed also by referring students to articles on race, man, evolution, anthropology, etc., in such compilations as the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. The opening chapters in Marett's little book on anthropology are so sanely and admirably written that they also clear away many prejudices and fears.

With such a concrete body of facts contrasting primitive with modern civilized social life the student will naturally inquire, How did these changes come about? At this point should come normally the answer in terms of what practically all sociologists agree upon, namely, the three great sets of determining forces or phenomena, the three "controls": (1) the physical environment (climate, topography, natural resources, etc.); (2) man's own nature (psycho-physical factors, the factors in biological evolution, the rôle of instinct, race, and possibly the concrete problems of immigration and eugenics); (3) social heredity (folkways, customs, institutions, the arts of life, the methods of getting a living, significance of tools, distribution of wealth, standards of living, etc.). A black-board diagram will show how these various factors converge upon any given individual.

The amplification of these three points will ordinarily make up the body of an introductory course so far as class work goes. Ethnography should furnish rich illustrative material. But to make class discussions really productive the student's knowledge of his own community must be drawn upon. And the best way of getting this correlation is through community surveys.

²In his *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

The student should be required as parallel laboratory work to prepare a series of chapters on his ward, or part of his ward, or village, covering the three sets of determining factors. The instructor may furnish an outline of the topics to be investigated, or he may pass around copies of such brief survey outlines as Aronovici's *Knowing One's Own Community* or Miss Byington's *What Social Workers Should Know about Their Own Communities*; he may also refer them to any one of the rapidly growing number of good urban and rural surveys as models. But he should not give too much information as to where materials for student reports may be obtained. The disciplinary value of having to hunt out facts and uncover sources is second only to the value of accurate observation and effective presentation. If the aim of a sociology course is social efficiency, experience shows no better way of getting a vivid yet sober, first-hand knowledge of community conditions. And there is likewise no surer way of compelling students to substitute facts for vapid wordiness and snap judgments.

Toward the end of the course many of us have found it profitable to introduce a brief discussion of what may be called the highest term of the mores, namely, the evolution of two or three typical institutions, say, law and government, education, religion, and the family. These topics will serve to clinch the earlier discussions and to crystallize a few ideas on social control and perhaps even social progress.

Normally such a course will close with a fuller definition of the meaning of sociology, its content, its value in the study of other sciences, and, if time permits, a brief historical sketch of the development of sociology as a separate science.

I have no certified advice to offer on the question of textbooks. But the almost universal cry of sociology teachers is that so far no really satisfactory text has been produced. Some men still use Spencer, some write their own books, some try to adapt to their particular needs such texts as are issued from time to time, some use none at all but depend upon a more or less well-correlated syllabus or set of readings. There is undoubtedly a profitable demand for a good elementary source book comparable to Thomas' *Source Book on Social Origins* or Marshall, Wright, and Field's *Materials*

for the Study of Elementary Economics. Nearly any text will need freshening up by collateral reading from such periodicals as *The Survey* or *The New Republic*. In order to secure effective and correlated outside reading, many teachers have found it helpful to require the students to devote the first five or ten minutes of a class meeting once a week or even daily to a written summary of their readings and of class discussions. Such a device keeps readings fresh and enables the teacher to emphasize the points of contact between readings and class work.

Every university should develop some sort of a social museum to cover primitive types of men, the evolution of tools, arts of life, manners and customs, and contemporary social conditions. These can be displayed in the form of plaster casts, ethnographic specimens, photographs, lantern slides, models of housing, statistical charts, printed monographs, etc. The massing of a series of these illustrations sometimes produces a profound effect. For example, the corridor leading to the sociology rooms at the University of Minnesota has been lined with large photographs of tenement conditions, child labor, immigrant types, etc. The student's interest and curiosity have been heightened immensely. Once a semester, during the discussion of the economic factor in social life, we stage what is facetiously called "a display of society's dirty linen." The classroom is decorated with a set of charts showing the distribution of wealth, wages, cost of living, growth of labor unions, and other organizations of economic protest. The mass effect is a cumulative challenge.

Finally, a word about "field work" as a teaching device. Field work usually means some sort of social-service practice work under direction of a charitable agency, juvenile court, settlement, or playground. But beginning students are usually more of a liability than an asset to such agencies; they lack the time to supervise students' work, and "field work" without strict supervision is a farcical waste of time. If such agencies will accept a few students who have the learner's attitude, rather than an inflated persuasion of their social messiahship, field work can become a very valuable adjunct to class work. In default of such opportunities the very best field work is an open-eyed study of one's own community in

the attempt to find out what actually is rather than to reform a hypothetical evil.¹

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION² ON "THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY TO UNDERGRADUATES"

MANUEL C. ELMER, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The problem of teaching sociology to undergraduates is one of the most difficult problems teachers of sociology have to meet. In our work with graduate students we have individuals whose point of view has been determined to some extent, and who have selected some specific phase of the field of sociology for their further study. The undergraduate, however, is not only without a point of view, but has hardly an inkling of the subject-matter of sociology. Where any idea concerning the subject-matter is had, it is too often that of the average layman—namely, a study of the ills and weaknesses of society. It is true that sociologists must deal with these phases of life in society, but merely as incidents in a general series of causes and effects, the most of which are not especially unusual or of a nature to be subject-matter for a first-page story in a sensational newspaper.

Because sociology involves a new departure in the line of reasoning of the undergraduate, many teachers try to avoid too much abstract subject-matter by limiting their introductory course to specific problems—and these problems are often those dealing with pathological conditions only. Students usually display interest in courses of that nature, and the teacher sometimes flatters himself with the thought that he has succeeded in laying the foundation for further sociological study, when all that has been done has been the arousing of a morbid interest in abnormal social conditions and activities.

Recently a student told me she wished to do her major work in sociology. On seeking the reason she told me she had already had eleven semester hours in another institution and that she thought it "great fun." She had no idea of what the scope or purpose of sociology was, had never had any basic course, and her work had consisted principally in the study of vice, crime, degenerates, and defectives, which are without question social problems, but the study of which did not give her the basis for further work that the study of some normal group activity, in which the "processes of human association" were illustrated, would have given her.

I have made it a point to speak with scores of persons who have had an elementary course in sociology, and by far the larger proportion of them do

¹ While accepting full responsibility for the opinions herein set forth, I wish to express my appreciation of assistance rendered by a large group of colleagues in the American Sociological Society.

² Given at 2 P.M., Saturday, Dec. 28, 1918.

not have any adequate idea of what it is with which sociology deals. They get that phase of sociology in mind which happens to be the special field of inquiry of their teacher, but fail to see its relationship to the field as a whole. One young man put in a definite form what happens frequently. He said, "We were hurled pell-mell into a new world, a new atmosphere, where the things of everyday life were spoken of in a phraseology new to us. Gradually we became accustomed to our new surroundings and began to see light; but it was two years before I was able to see the connection between what I had learned in my sociology class, and life about me, and I am sure most of the students never saw any connection."

About four years ago I was speaking with Dr. A. J. Todd concerning the failure of undergraduate students to get the connection between the abstract discussion of "group activities and their interrelationship," and the interrelationship of the many groups to which the student belongs. Dr. Todd suggested a method he followed, of having the student make a chart of the various groups represented, and by dotted lines show the direct and indirect effect of group upon group.

That suggestion was followed and as much time as necessary is spent, usually about three class periods, in getting the individual to see his own relationship to the various group activities of his community, and to connect his own activities with "processes of human association." In following this method with about 600 undergraduates, I have found that they have had little difficulty in getting the sociological point of view, by passing from the known field of their everyday life to the more or less abstract reasoning involved in the study of sociology. Furthermore, when they come to study the origin and development of social institutions, they are able to understand the social forces and the factor of social control which had a determining influence on the direction of growth and the present status of social institutions without any apparent difficulty.

In making a general survey of their home community they do not merely gather facts and statistics, but, instead, they study the social forces within their communities and observe the direction and measure and the extent of social control by means of the facts and statistical data. In short, first helping the student to see the relationship of his personal experiences and the activities of his group to society in general, and helping him to see that the activities of his group and the conditions under which his group functions constitute, to a degree, the conditioning and problem phenomena of society, the undergraduate student is able to get the proper sociological viewpoint and he gets the logical introduction to the subject-matter of sociology.

WILLIAM J. KERBY, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Undergraduate teaching of Sociology meets the difficulties of all undergraduate teaching whatsoever and in addition it faces problems peculiar to the science itself.

Undergraduate teaching is a co-operative work in which a number of professors share. There is among them a minimum of co-ordination and little actual combining of results in a single outcome, namely the directed mental formation of the student. Since education ought to make for a measurable degree of mental unity in outlook and for harmonized relations among those "partial views of reality" which we call sciences, the first law of education requires professors to unify themselves in their relations to the student mind. In proportion as this is not done our teaching power suffers and the teaching of Sociology, as one of many sciences, is seriously handicapped.

Professors may have many aims in their teaching; they may wish to promote the development of science out of sheer devotion to it. This is excellent for research and bad for undergraduate teaching. Undergraduate teaching is not research and research is not undergraduate teaching.

A professor may be governed by a desire to advance his own position in the college world. Now the investigator stands high and the gifted undergraduate teacher is more or less overlooked. A sure way to lose a gifted teacher of undergraduates is to have him do a brilliant piece of research work. At once a dozen graduate faculties attempt to win him away. Not until the real human superiority of the born teacher is recognized can we save undergraduate faculties from constant weakening through loss of their best men. Social valuations govern sociologists as well as others. When the proper social valuation is placed upon undergraduate teaching, college education will be transformed.

Students in their turn present difficulties. We get them as they are. Some of them out of place, some of them spoiled or half-formed, many of them without the faintest honest interest in the thought-world, many of them filled with rebellious impulses, incapable of concentration and not regretting it. We work on the delicately constituted minds of students in so far as they permit us to do so. When the public opinion of the student body indorses a teacher and his teaching, the teacher is successful. When that public opinion discounts a teacher and his teaching, success is more than doubtful. We offer to the students what they need. They accept what they want. Too often they want credits, not knowledge, a degree, not an inspiration, a conventional symbol of culture without its discipline, its joys, its tastes, or its aims.

What we offer to the student in the classroom and in personal contact seems to be of no use whatsoever in his normal social relations. He takes cultural knowledge, at least, with little understanding of its meaning in life; understanding not at all that the world and his own standards are within him and the refined ordering of interior life is the supreme condition of real living. A student who goes over the top in battle has an audience at every street corner. His knowledge and experience give him importance and distinction. But a student who goes over the top in sociology may walk from ocean to ocean and not meet friend or stranger who has the slightest interest in what he knows. Until we quicken the imagination of the student and give him a vital motive

for doing college work well we cannot succeed at all. This is, of course, the secret of all teaching. If sufficient stimuli of a search for cultural knowledge existed in a student's social environment, he would scarcely need a teacher at all. In last analysis the teacher is needed only because environment does not automatically arouse passion for truth and goodness as they merge in a glorious vision of the world and the destiny of man. Undergraduate teachers, therefore, have to fight against an overwhelming environment.

We are agreed, I think, that it is the business of education to enable one to know one's self and do one's work in the world with joy and in doing it to find one's true relation to the world and its Creator. This result demands as condition to it and an element of it, power to see, to describe, and understand the physical world and the social world. It requires capacity to see intelligently the drift of humanity in great movements of thought, great impulses to action, great institutions and high ideals as these come and go throughout the centuries. Furthermore, it is the work of education to awaken the student to the need of interpreting life in those ultimate terms and valuations which we assemble under the names of philosophy and religion. That this will be done in some way is inevitable in every life. If educational forces do not accomplish it wisely, the impulses, passions, interests, and reluctances of the student will do so badly.

Education is judged by its effect on the mind and soul of the student as a human person, by its effect on his aspirations and interpretations, and by the power it gives him to perceive ideals and to will their realization in his life. Since wholesome ideals include both personal and social elements and relations, education ought to chart the student's pathway through the complexities of life to its goal. Education is therefore internal, intensely personal, informing, and transforming. It is more important that a student understand his own wayward impulses and their relation to disorder and sin than that he understand why Brutus killed Caesar. Three to five professors may work to give him the latter information. How many will work in a college course to give him the former? It means more to a student to respect his conscience and understand the social processes of evil within him than to know the history of European morals. These forms of knowledge are not exclusive; they should be associated. But if we put high valuations on information and lower estimates on personal ideals and the will to achieve them, the student will be governed by these valuations to his hurt and our confusion.

Sociology has opportunity to do much for the undergraduate. I believe that the sociology which co-ordinates and interprets the results of the social sciences ought to be left for graduate students. Descriptive courses that include vast quantities of material and cosmic sweep of observation ought to be left for graduate students whose power of generalization and independent thinking is presumably matured. The undergraduate may well be interested in the sociology that teaches him to recognize himself in the social process and to read and interpret his own personal social experience as an organic part of his

world. In this form sociology possesses the secret of direct appeal and immediate value in character, judgment, and culture. If it were possible to conceive of sociology as a method as much as a message, this could be done readily enough.

If everything in the world is revealing, the student's social experience is worth systematic study. If the individual is a cross-section of his civilization, shall we not begin to reveal civilization to him through himself? If a score of arts and sciences must be called into account for the existence and function of a canceled postage stamp, surely the rich and complicated social experience of a student ought to be a worthy text at some period in the process of his cultural formation. A thousand books without titles and thrown in a heap make not a library. Each must be opened, the title must be written where it can be seen, and the books ought to be classified. Now the consciousness of the student is a jumble of ten thousand social experiences. It is worth while to recognize them, to label and relate them, and interpret them to the student as phases of his place and its relations in the social world. Bowden expresses this truth in his study of Puritanism. "Through what is most personal in each of us, we come upon the common soul; let any man record faithfully his most private experiences in any of the great affairs of life and his words awaken in other souls innumerable echoes. The deepest community is found not in institutions or corporations or churches but in the secrets of the solitary heart."

A student in the sophomore class, certainly a student in the junior class ought to be able to see, to define, and to imagine readily the relations indicated under the terms, group, institution, process, order, social mind, typical group relations with their reactions, radicalism, and conservatism. He should classify desires as he knows them, not as he has memorized a classification invented by someone else. He should learn the secrets of social control and recognize the point at which his own behavior reinforces or undermines it. He should recognize the delicate touch of intangible but none the less powerful ideals and he should be brought to know when he respects and when he reviles them. These are but illustrations. They aim at neither logic nor completeness. At the end of a year of work of this kind involving as it does a large number of class papers, the student should have an intelligent outlook upon his city, his country, and his time. His reading on current events would get both edge and emphasis. This would beget an intellectual self-confidence and a personal interest that ought to overcome some of the obstacles with which we are familiar. A second undergraduate year, if it can be had, might be based on a textbook and the larger impersonal aspects of the field might be introduced. The relations of the social sciences should be made clear and the organic unity of all truth, particularly the unity of social life throughout the present and in historical continuity, should be set forth.

There is an underlying thought here that it might be well for me to mention. Perhaps I incline toward it fundamentally because I am a Catholic priest and

I believe in, not only the unity of truth and of life, but also of the conduct of life and in the organic relations of intellectual, spiritual, and social training. Undergraduates have precious ethical instincts and idealistic impulses. While we are saying our worst about their indifference to knowledge, we keep in mind this precious tribute to the nature that is in them. Now ethical life reaches in two directions: upward to definite spiritual truth and relations, and outward to a thousand social contacts. The student's ethical self is largely a social self. He finds it difficult often to distinguish between himself and his reputation. The relations of social experience to the ethical sense are profound. If we teach sociology in an elementary course and fail to relate social experience to ethical values, we fail to touch the student's inner life at all, and our science remains remote and static and without character value.

The student must be led to realize that ethics is law, not narrative; discipline not history; the way to his higher self and destiny and not an account of what nations and races have thought about morals. The judgments of the young are deeper than we think. The power of a real teacher is moral rather than intellectual. It comes from the glow of personality, aside from learning, that in some mysterious way touches and energizes the student's soul. I recognize fully the difficulties that stand in the way of American colleges in respect of this. But our limitations and our mistakes in teaching undergraduates operate by force of psychological laws that have no respect for explanations or excuses. Some way should be found in all schools to interpret spiritual values to the students and to guide them to an outlook on the social world that quickens everything wholesome within their hearts.

Perhaps this is more evident now than ever before. While the world is remaking itself and preparing new institutions of government and society to suit the wider conceptions of democracy, it is necessary as never before to understand what democracy is. It is and it remains forever primarily moral and social, and secondarily political. Democracy is a maximum of order with a minimum of coercion. It is self-restraint, high idealism, and kindly toleration. It is internal and spiritual, historical and actual. It is not merely external and social. If we can make ethics a little more sociological and sociology much more ethical, our educational work will do splendid things for the advancement of democracy. Circumstances as we know control the degree to which the college teacher can affect the ethical convictions of students. The least that the former can do is to attempt to strengthen the latter's understanding of his own ethical ideals and respect for them. The most that he can do is to create and sanction ideals for a student who has none. If the teacher of undergraduate sociology can in some way aim always to keep it in mind in his teaching that somewhere in the educational process the student must be made strong in character, refined in taste, cultured in instinct, reverent in tone and considerate of his fellows, sociology will find its place and serve its purpose and vindicate its pretensions. The method and spirit indicated here point out one way in which this may be attempted.

F. STUART CHAPIN, SMITH COLLEGE

Perhaps the two greatest evils of present-day practices in teaching undergraduates are: first, that different subjects are presented as separate and quite independent fields of thought, off by themselves and each in its own separate pigeonhole and water-tight compartment; second, each subject tends to be taught as so much information to be ladled out to students in homeopathic lecture doses. Although it is fortunately true that some departments of college teaching have climbed out of the logical rut and advanced to better things, I do not believe that many have broken away from the obsolete educational practices cited.

It is less excusable to teach sociology in this way than any other subject in the curriculum of the modern college, for the reasons that sociology is to such a considerable extent a synthetic subject and deals with vital everyday problems about which there is much contemporary discussion. I do not see how sociology could be taught without functioning as a common cement for the principles of the more specialized fields of knowledge about human relations, but the second evil of educational practice characterizes too much sociological teaching.

To consider some of the pitfalls which teachers of undergraduate courses in sociology should avoid:

First pitfall, the formal and unadulterated lecture method. Because there is no one text in sociology which satisfactorily covers the field, many teachers yield to the temptation of the formal lecture method and make their instruction a discipline in memory. In this connection there is a tendency on the part of specialists to place too much emphasis upon the teacher's own opinions in regard to controversial points which are really matters for mature specialists and usually confusing and often uninteresting to students. This sort of teacher runs his hobby to death and neglects to place sufficient emphasis on the common ground of generally accepted principle. The consequence is that the student gets a narrow and inadequate, if not a biased, view of the field of sociology. Since the most valuable form of mental discipline is self-discipline derived from independent thinking, the lecture method when used in a formal way becomes a means of disguising thought and lulling the student into a false sense of intellectual independence, from which he is some day rudely awakened by the necessity of justifying his position, only to find that his judgments are artificial and derived and to experience the lurking sense of fear lest his whole thought-scheme be unsound. This is demoralizing and unfair to the student, whose habits of thought should have been trained by the teacher in vigorous mental exercise which alone develops tough mental fiber.

Second pitfall, the formal textbook method of teaching. Where a text is satisfactory to the instructor it is often used literally as a bible and becomes the basis of memory work. But the pitfalls of the "textbook method" of drill and rehearsal are so well known that I shall not take your time to dwell upon them.

Third pitfall, the scrappy method of teaching. Where teachers have revolted against the formal lecture and textbook methods of instruction, they have sometimes gone to the other extreme and by dispersed and unsystematized readings upon which students have been turned loose to roam much at will, have succeeded only in a scrappy and illogical presentation of the subject. If I were to choose between the evils of the formal textbook method and the unorganized method of reading, I believe that, granted a good text to begin with, I should prefer the textbook method as the lesser of the two evils.

To consider some successful methods of teaching sociology which have come under my observation:

I believe that with large classes of elementary students sociology is most successfully taught by a combination of the lecture, textbook, and collateral reading methods, which consciously seeks to avoid formal presentation of the subject and relies upon the class-discussion method as far as is consistent with unification and co-ordination of subject-matter.

The Scylla and Charybdis of teaching sociology are on the one hand the formal lecture and textbook methods of the educational Hohenzollerns which emphasize memory work at the expense of training in thought by self-discipline, and on the other hand the illogic and disorganization of the educational Bolsheviks who, in expressing a reaction against formal procedure, go to the extreme of turning immature students loose upon unarranged material. There is a safe middle path between these twin evils which is based upon the sound elements of each of the time-worn methods of instruction.

Concretely, I believe that one or more good texts are essential to successful mental discipline in sociology when the number of students in the class is large. Any text is the result of matured reflection such as few students have attained to, and hence is logically superior to their course of reasoning. Formal methods of instruction from such texts may be avoided by the discussion method. By this I mean the practice of bringing up for consideration and informal discussion by the class of concrete problems, not specifically stated in the text, but which may be illumined or explained by application of principles developed in the text. The discussion subject may be introduced by having the students bring to class written answers to questions which are dictated by the instructor at the last session. Several of the recent texts in sociology have lists of excellent questions at the end of each chapter. The use of this question method forces the student to bring his thought to a head, to formulate his ideas, and to apply them to the solution of a concrete case. In this way the issues are clarified and the student's mind thrown back upon its own resources. I have heard students say after such a discussion that their heads ached from thinking. This is wholesome exercise.

Other forms of the discussion method may be used to vary the procedure. For example, by use of the problem method, in which the instructor guides the discussion of a selected problem by skilfully questioning the students who are unprepared for the specific problem except for their general knowledge, and by

laying bare false leads and avoiding digressions as he goes on, gradually brings together one after another the various facts and conclusions of the discussion until they are formulated into some general principle. In such a discussion the teacher, acting as the leader, uses the answers of the students as his raw material and proceeds by a sort of inductive method to a generalization of some sort.

Another variation in the discussion method is the case method of instruction. This is especially applicable in the teaching of social economy and practical sociology. At Smith College we have used the Finnegan case, the Doyle case, and other selected cases of the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, as well as the *New York Times's* "One Hundred Poorest Cases," published in a Sunday edition every year before Christmas. As this case method of teaching is a familiar one I shall not take time to describe it.

While the discussion method based on a good text is a valuable means of stimulating thought, while it creates the conditions for mental self-discipline, it is not complete in itself, and I believe that it should be supplemented by discriminating use of the lecture method. No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down, but the lecture method is usually needed as a means of co-ordinating and synthesizing the considerable mass of material which is brought out in discussion and accumulated from collateral reading, a mass of fact and principle in which the best student minds are in danger of getting lost, because of their inexperience in organizing masses of data. The more mature and experienced mind of the teacher should point out the generalizations which illumine the main highways of this intellectual community by a judicious use of the lecture method. But the chief function of the lecture should be that of co-ordination and synthesis, not the presentation of facts or additional information.

The lecture method should supplement the auditory approach by the visual approach, as exemplified in the intelligent use of tables, charts, diagrams, maps, graphic methods, and illustrations. The stereopticon and motion picture can be used to great advantage in teaching social economy and practical sociology. At Smith College I present the housing problem and city planning by stereopticon slides.

I have mentioned collateral readings. Their use should be both to amplify the presentation of the subject and to permit the student to obtain first-hand acquaintance with the classic works of sociology. In order that these ends may be achieved in elementary courses it is essential that collateral readings be arranged by subtopics with chapter or page citations and that periodical reports on readings be required of the students. In this way the reading material is brought together in an orderly fashion for the student's perusal, and the untrained mind is not left to unguided reading from a list of miscellaneous works.

The term essay is a traditional method for directing the student's attention to the study of some topic or restricted portion of the subject, so that a somewhat intensive knowledge of a limited field may be attained. This slight

degree of specialization is valuable both as an antidote to the diffusing tendency of the main development of the course and as a training in method. As a substitute for the written essay in large elementary courses I have used the device of requiring each student to present the term paper in outline form. This outline plan has two advantages over the essay plan: In the first place, the analysis of the topic by main heads and subheadings gives the student a training in logical method which is quite worth while; in the second place, the method of arrangement gives the teacher an excellent basis for grading the student's grasp of the topic and his power of logical analysis, as well as his power of organizing material. From the teacher's point of view the method is helpful because it is possible to grade such an outline on content and arrangement more easily and quickly than to grade the written essay—and this is a consideration in large classes. The plan is also useful as a means of giving the student some acquaintance with the elements of the historical method, by requiring conformity to the standard usage in regard to footnotes, references, abbreviations, and critical bibliography of sources. Where really classical works are available, as in teaching the principles of sociology, it is better to use the collateral reading method to supplement the combination of text-discussion-lecture procedure as I have described it, but where classical works are not so available, as in courses in practical sociology and social economy, I have used the outline plan with considerable success.

Instruction in practical sociology is advantageously supplemented by having students visit accessible institutions like almshouses, jails, prisons, reformatories, hospitals, and so on, and requiring a written report of their observations. In small classes composed of mature students I have found it profitable to give field-work training in co-operation with some organized charity. In this way the students may have the advantage of direct observation. Such field practice, however, should be controlled by such devices as periodical reports by students and field supervisor, and group conferences, and under no circumstances should the students be allowed to get the idea that they have become trained specialists as a result of this short and superficial apprenticeship. The purpose of the field work is to give the academic student some first-hand contacts with reality.

To sum up, I believe that the teacher of undergraduate sociology has an unusual opportunity to break away from traditional educational methods of social discipline in conformity—really little more than a technique of repression—and to develop a technique of education in character through self-discipline.

CAROL ARONOVICI, AMHERST H. WILDER CHARITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

I am surprised that Professor Todd did not include the newspapers as one of his methods of approach in the teaching of sociology. I have found in my own classroom work that a dramatic story culled from the morning newspaper lends itself to a very wide range of social interpretation and opens

a new field of thought to the student unfamiliar with social facts. A street-car accident, an industrial accident, election news, the passage of a new law, a divorce trial, or any other of the multitudinous items that appear in the daily papers, already contain the element of interest and can be endowed with an unusual dramatic value when interpreted from a sociological point of view.

It seems to me that to begin with what the student already knows and has been sufficiently interested to read in the newspaper is very much better than to start with indefinite facts picked up at random in one's daily life. To be sure, this requires careful analysis of social facts, a knowledge of local conditions, and a certain amount of practical experience in the interpretation of such facts. If during the first term you do nothing more than give the student a broader insight into the far-reaching social significance of the daily events and their relation to the social order, you can relegate the textbook teaching to the second or third term.

NEWELL L. SIMS, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

They were most suggestive papers to which we have just listened. Professor Todd's contribution has been especially instructive. I am greatly pleased with it. The method outlined therein is splendidly idealistic and wholly in harmony with the most acceptable psychological and pedagogical principles.

No doubt Professor Todd is entirely successful in its application. Still, I am not altogether convinced that the course indicated is adequate or the method applicable for inducting students into an elementary knowledge of sociology in all or in many instances. If one has assurance that his students will pursue sociology beyond the beginning course, perhaps it may be well to introduce them to the subject after the manner set forth. But when one has students who can take but an introductory course and one knows that this is all that they will get, I question the wisdom of handling the subject as the paper under discussion proposes. My judgment is that the procedure outlined would in most cases prove inadequate since it would fail to lead the student into very much sociological knowledge. For instance, at the University of Florida we have a certain class of students who take a single year in the College of Arts and Sciences before entering the Law School. They want sociology in preparation for their law studies and have time for just one course. Perhaps I am wrong but it does not seem to me that in teaching this class of students I would be justified in following Professor Todd's plan.

Of course, if it is true that the student will not otherwise "go over the top" in sociology, as Father Kerby puts it, then it behooves us to abandon all other methods in favor of those presented this afternoon. But I am assuming that there are about as many successful ways of teaching even sociology as there are successful teachers of sociology. Surely it is not nearly so much a problem of subject-matter or method as it is of the teacher himself. There is more in the man than in anything else. We cannot standardize the teaching of this subject.

Indeed, it has not been suggested that we try, and I mention it only to emphasize the point that there are probably as many good methods as there are good teachers.

As already indicated, I am trying to teach sociology to Freshmen and Sophomores, and I believe with a fair measure of success, for there is abundant evidence that not a few of them are "going over the top" in the subject. There has been no difficulty in awakening and sustaining interest in sociology in the institution with which I am connected. One object which I have at the outstart and which is kept constantly before the students, is to impart to them the scientific spirit and the social viewpoint. No time is squandered at the beginning in an effort to relate sociology to other sciences. That comes out incidentally during the course. The theoretical is kept as much in abeyance as possible. Material is presented wherever practicable in the form of problems. These the students grapple with in assigned readings, by securing data from indicated sources, etc. In the classroom we lecture, discuss, have reports, quizzes, debates, exhibits, etc. Classroom debates have been much used. A question is assigned on which all prepare. The class is divided between the affirmative and the negative, and the debate is conducted in regular form. The greatest interest is taken in these debates not only by the class itself but by the students outside also. The students are eager for the fray, and do the most extensive and satisfactory work in preparation. I have found it great fun to teach sociology in this manner, and the results have been most gratifying even with under-class men.

WALTER R. SMITH, KANSAS STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

The field of general sociology is so broad and we are so far from a definite consensus of opinion as to how much of it should be covered in an introductory course that it is scarcely to be expected that a textbook prepared by one teacher would be wholly satisfactory to another. It is easy to pick flaws in any book on the market, but, as has been suggested, the textbooks have been carefully organized and prepared, and I doubt if it is wise for many teachers to do without one. We are more frequently criticized by other departments for a lack of definiteness and cohesion in our teaching than for academic formalism. I incline to accept their criticism, and since sociologists are more than ordinarily independent in their thinking, I believe there is more danger of scattering the energies of students than of slavishly following a textbook. Moreover the process of improving textbooks is one of selection, and the only method by which we may hope to get the sort of text we need is to require students to buy the best one attainable to be used as a foundation.

Any textbook will need supplementary work both in assigned readings and elementary field work. Professor Todd's suggestions for opening the course are excellent. I have regularly used some form of inductive approach to local group life and required in discussion, in so far as possible, original illustrations

of social principles from the student's environment. Near the end of the course I have found students glad to undertake some form of individual or co-operative field study. Last semester the class, with such aid as I found necessary to give, worked out plans and then made a house-to-house study of the economic, social, and institutional life of the four hundred negroes in Emporia. It was not a finished social survey, but it gave them laboratory practice, a contact with social realities, and an object-lesson in grounding opinions on facts rather than sentiment. Without a fairly complete summary of the sociological field such as is found in the texts of Blackmar and Gillen, or Hayes, it would be difficult to find time for supplementary field work that would be valuable. If we are to teach the social point of view we ought not to be so individualistic as to ignore the organizing and generalizing work of the textbook writer.

CAPTAIN THOMAS D. ELLIOT, SANITARY CORPS, FORMERLY ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF POLITICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE, STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON

During this discussion my courage has risen to the speaking point. For if I can judge by comparing my own experience with the excellent suggestions of previous speakers, it does not take so much experience as I had imagined to get good ideas of how to teach sociology. Learning how to put those ideas into effective practice is doubtless a different matter.

During the first two papers the general advice given reminded me of certain concrete devices and policies which I put into action from the very first with good results. The value of certain of these methods has been corroborated by later speakers. I am prompted to bear witness at this moment, however, by Dr. Aronovici's call for testimony as to the value of newspapers for teaching purposes.

In all of my courses I used clippings constantly, both in the classroom and on special bulletin boards. But, just as every news item can be expanded, like the "flower in the crannied wall," into an entire course of human science, so it is possible to find, in nearly any day's newspaper, matter which can illustrate vividly the subject of the week. Items were, therefore, always chosen in relation to a topic in an organized outline of the course.

Term papers were required to be upon a subject relating the course to the major interest or department of the student, a suggestive list of such topics being posted from which the student might vary if he showed sufficient interest. The students were never taught in classroom as if they were majoring in the subject. Majors in social science received individual attention.

Positive measures and normal social conditions and institutions were emphasized, and pathological conditions were used only for comparison, as the physician learns hygiene from disease. Each student was required to read at home, at any time before the close of the course, one novel or other book of the "red-hot" type, such as *The Jungle*. This served as a stimulus, though the books were never discussed in class.

Commonplace terminology and everyday facts were used as the starting-point of every new topic wherever possible, and the courses proceeded from concrete to theoretical. The enrolment, which was optional, was increased 100 per cent in a year by making social economy a prerequisite for social theory instead of vice versa.

The principles thus applied seemed to bring instant and steady response: *Contemporaneity* of material; *Correlation* with other courses; *Normality* of perspective; *Concreteness* of approach.

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

How can we, as teachers of sociology and social economy in our colleges and universities, give to undergraduates an applied knowledge of the social order? The suggestions which have been made apply distinctly to the means by which community development may be stimulated and carried on. I should like to suggest that community development should not be for the community, but of the community and by the community, and while university extension work is essential, it should be an aid to the community called for by the community and organized by the community for itself. With such a principle, the largest contribution which can be made will come by sending out our undergraduates and graduates into their own communities with a zeal for the organization of the forces of the community and a knowledge of how to do it.

At Bryn Mawr College we are endeavoring to attain this end by giving to the undergraduates an opportunity to take part in activities of the Bryn Mawr Community Center, which is maintained and managed by the community, the students themselves acting as a part of the community. We want them to feel that they belong to the community, and at the same time we endeavor to give to them opportunities for learning how community organizations may be originated and conducted by forming a systematic plan of work for two hours a week each beginning with the Freshman year, with a plan of certification. We hope to afford them experience and knowledge and at any rate ideals which will make it incumbent upon them to participate in community activities, and assume responsibility for community leadership when they return to their homes.

THE NATIONAL SPIRIT IN EDUCATION

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS
University of Wisconsin

Since education goes on within the social mind, the process cannot be walled off from other processes in that mind. Hence, if there is a national spirit, that spirit will assuredly reveal itself in the national system of education. This is why the schools of different nations, although they profess to communicate truth, which is the same for all, differ so much from one another.

To demonstrate that the reigning national spirit leaves its mark on education, I will cite facts from certain societies I have studied.

OLD CHINA

The Old China sought her unity and stability, not in a reigning dynasty or a ruling class, but in the ideas of certain great thinkers who lived nearly two-and-a-third-thousand years ago. In looking into Chinese education, therefore, we should not be surprised at the pre-eminence given to the Confucian classics in the curriculum, the emphasis on Chinese geography and history to the exclusion of that of other peoples, the want of "come-back" and query in the pupil, the recruitment of state servants from the high-degree men. It is strange but true that our system of admission to the civil service on the basis of examinations, instead of favor or party service, came to us from China via India and England.

In Old China the control of society rested mainly in the hands of the learned, and hence, in their own interest and for the sake of social order, they taught the people to respect learning and honor the scholar. What, then, is more natural than such features of Chinese education as the triumphal reception to the returning honor man, the rearing of a *pailow* or memorial gateway to the winner in the great competitive examination, and the rearing of public monuments to eminent teachers?

PRUSSIA

In Prussia—soon, let us hope, we may say “Old Prussia”—the national idea shows itself in education in the sharp contrast between the spirit of the public elementary schools on the one hand and that of the middle and higher schools on the other. The former are “authoritative and rigid, systematic and repressive, disciplinary and exacting.” The aim is to drill the children of the masses into industry, obedience, persistence, and thoroughness. The schools above the *Volksschulen*, however, which cater to the children of, perhaps, 10 per cent of the people, aim to develop the mental attitude proper to those who are to govern and direct the docile masses. In them lives the spirit of research and intellectual freedom, whereas in the lower schools collateral textbooks and supplementary readings are wanting, while study at home is discouraged. Far from being encouraged to question, to think for himself, the child is trained to rely on a single and definite authority. Once this lesson has been learned, it is safe later on to encourage freedom of inquiry, for it will be confined to technical matters and will not touch the subject of fundamental control. Hence, along with a praiseworthy freedom of criticism within the field of specialized scholarship go heavy shackles on professional comment on the social structure and political institutions of Prussia.

It is also noteworthy that the *Volksschulen*, intended to mold followers and obeyers, have been starved for funds, overcrowded, deadened by routine, and held in clerical leading strings, while their teachers have been kept in a humiliating position in the educational system.

CHILE

In Chile the national spirit, as embodied in an oligarchic state and a hierarchical church, may be read very clearly in the system of education. The small governing class of landed proprietors look with disfavor upon popular schools lest they cause the children of the half-breed agricultural laborer—the *inquilino*—to grow up demanding, or disposed to migrate to the cities. They want the son to stay on in his father’s mud hut, content with the old wage and the old hard, rough life, attached to the *hacienda* and its master,

and deaf to the call of opportunity elsewhere. As one country gentleman put it to me, "We don't want the children of our *inquilinos* disturbed in their minds." It is taken for granted that the children of the poor ought to follow the father's calling and that to aspire is presumptuous.

The church loves public elementary schools as little as the master, but for reasons of her own. The priest wants the masses ignorant in order that he may preserve his authority over them, keep their feet from straying from the path of eternal salvation and be relieved from the necessity of combating heresies and meeting the competition of the Protestant missionary. That education gives the bright sons of the poor a chance to rise in life does not appeal to him. What is "rising in life" compared with saving the soul? So if popular education *must* come, let it be provided by the church herself in her parish school, where, as a clerical editor put it to me, "Religion saturates the entire course of study."

It is not surprising, then, that Chile has only a third as many public elementary schools as are needed. Moreover these do not lead up to the high school at all. The state maintains fine high schools (*liceos*), but to get your children ready for the *liceo* you must pay tuition for them in some private school. Here is the educational system congenial to oligarchy: excellent state high school and university, but no ladder provided by which the children of the poor may climb into the free state system, so that its benefits are reserved for the children of the well-to-do who can pay for a ladder. Thus the upper class transmits to its sons unimpaired its monopoly of government service and of all the higher occupations.

I am not bold enough to try to set forth what is the national spirit in America, but I shall present a number of cases in which it has clearly left its impress on education.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

American society by the middle of the last century was saturated with the optimistic social philosophy emanating from Adam Smith and his school, according to which, as a normal thing, men intelligently pursuing their private pecuniary interests promote inadvertently the social welfare. This not only made for *laissez faire*

in government, but for individualism in morals. If a man did the right thing by other individuals there would be nothing to worry about. It was overlooked that this leaves without restraint actions which injure, not known persons, but the general public, or the good customs and institutions which are the guy ropes of the social order.

Now, this national spirit, falling in only too amiably with the demands of parents and pupils, caused education in this country, up to about thirty years ago, to be dominated by the idea of *individual success*. The school was to train and develop the powers of the youth so that he might run well in the race for the good things of life. It was assumed that if the community contains a large number who are well able to take care of themselves, the social interest will be well cared for. To be sure, the studies pursued were, some of them, very far from developing any kind of serviceable power in the youth, but still there reigned the doctrine that the school exists to fit him to attain his personal life ends.

In the eighties of the last century the multiplying of social and political evils and the appearance of dangerous discontents caused thoughtful men to begin to doubt our rosy social philosophy. Politics was full of clever trained men working ably for "number one," but somehow the major public interests were not well looked after. Business was in the hands of capable men, who were no more tricky than their grandfathers, yet the distribution of wealth grew rapidly worse and class struggle was coming nearer.

Gradually it was perceived that there are a number of important social interests which are not parallel with individual interests and which should be preferred when they clash with such interests. The natural-harmony theory of society therefore falls short and the personal-success ideal of life turns out to be a false beacon. Adjustment to these ideas went on rapidly through the nineties, and it is safe to say that by 1910 no one continued to hold to the old social philosophy unless he was ignorant, elderly, or very prosperous.

The change in the national spirit soon registered in the field of education and under the slogan "educate for service" has triumphed in the universities, colleges, and high schools. The

striking thing is that there is no marked difference between endowed institutions and tax-supported institutions in their response to this ideal. It is the national spirit, not the source of support, that has counted. Even better proof is the fact that up to fifteen years ago law schools and medical schools maintained by the state had no higher notion of their duty than to train young men to earn fees; while on the other hand, in the course of the dozen years since the public gained the social point of view, the private law schools and medical schools have been nearly as keen as the universities about teaching professional ethics.

Behind the mushroom growth of courses in journalism and courses in commerce lies clearly the social intention. The point is not that the graduates shall know their business better than those who learn it at desk and counter, but that they shall go out with professional standards which the other training often fails to give. For to put a calling under right professional standards is to socialize it without socialism.

TEACHING THE DIGNITY OF LABOR

Another drive of the American spirit upon the schools is the endeavor to dignify work by making it a part of education. Perceiving how the stigma on manual labor in the Old World embitters toil, paralyzes effort, and whets the lust for exploitation, our early thinkers dreamed of teaching the children of rich and poor alike to use tools and to have joy in work. But how hard it has been to realize this dream! Only with incredible slowness have the workshops found a place in the school building. There is little open objection to the manual arts, but it is nearly as easy to move the pyramids as to make a place for them in the curriculum. It seems as if a mysterious force resists the endeavor to make school-girls deft with foods and fabrics, schoolboys skilful with machines and materials. This force is the reverence for book studies and the prejudice against work, with which most of us are tainted.

Our notions of what to teach come down to us from a time when education was for the children of the propertied and professional classes. The democratic movement finally brought everybody's children into the school but failed to make over the curriculum

to fit them. Hence, to the average youth of the work-a-day world the school seems out of touch with life, and the less farsighted gladly abandon it for the paying job. It is too much a leisure-class institution to command the confidence and loyalty of mill hands and their children.

One of the biggest sociological discoveries of our day is that the propertied class—the *bourgeoisie* if you like—instinctively cherish and propagate the idea that work is contemptible. They are bound to do this lest they be ruined by the spread of the rival idea that work is worthy and habitual idleness is contemptible. So from the conspicuous class goes out continually a poisonous influence which makes the working many think small of themselves and chafe at the inescapable conditions of human existence.

It is not direct leisure-class control over education which keeps the curriculum bookish, but the subtle contamination of the people at large by their ideas. The wives of butchers and bakers and farmers feel a lack of gentility in tools and are bleakly inhospitable to the industrial features of the school. So the national spirit and the class spirit have met and wrestled in the field of education and the national spirit has by no means come off victor. Broadly speaking, the impressing of school children with the dignity of labor remains yet to achieve.

TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

Very rapidly the scope of government has been expanding in this country. Taxes are heavier and the state has come to touch life and business at many points. There has been a great growth of administrative agencies, which work mischief and havoc unless directed by trained ability. We are on the eve of a movement to establish schools for training for the public service. Under these circumstances the venerable American notion that any bright man can fill successfully any public office is a menace. The revelations of the epoch of exposure, 1903-8, made a deep impression on the American mind. The phrase “invisible government” stuck in the memory like a burr. Stimulated by greed the party machines which did the will of big business invented a whole kit of burglars’ tools for stealing power from the people. Beating

the new game was as much harder than beating the old office-seeking game as the binomial theorem is harder than the "rule of three."

The overwhelming immigration brought into our electorate great numbers with only the most rudimentary notions of what democracy means. The machine politician was prompt to take the naive foreign-born voter in hand and miseducate him politically. It was easy to persuade the newcomer that a party is a mutual-benefit association, that the constitution should be nothing between friends, that to be independent in voting is betrayal of a sacred obligation, that to scratch your ticket is to "go back on" your friends, that it is weak-minded not to use the power of office to reward your friends and punish your enemies.

These considerations created about fifteen years ago a widespread alarm as to the future of popular government in this country and prompted an anxious survey of what might be done to cure political evils. Out of these sprang the demand that the schools train for citizenship. What is called for is not the old-time, dry-as-dust course in "civil government" but generous high-school instruction in civics by a trained, alert man. The aim is to ground coming citizens in the fundamentals of democracy—majority rule, free speech, the distinction between liberty and license, the importance of law enforcement, the place of party, the sacredness of the ballot, the merit system, and the responsibilities of public office. Whether civics can make a place for itself below the high school remains to be seen. It is certainly going to be taught to immigrants as part of our Americanization program and it may find a larger place than we imagine in the adult education of the future.

EQUALIZATION OF OPPORTUNITY

About twenty years ago the agricultural frontier came to an end and all that we can do to conserve the remaining national resources cannot restore its opportunities. Industry and business are concentrated into larger units and the prospect of the employee ever having a business of his own to run is small and growing smaller. The rich have learned how to take care of their money and how to bring up their children, so that the saying "Three

generations from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves" is a mockery. The distribution of wealth in this country has come to be something no one can defend. There is grave solicitude at the appearance of these conditions so unfavorable to realizing democracy, but the constitution, the courts, the party machines, the controlled press, and the resistance of powerful classes interpose insuperable obstacles to fundamental economic reforms.

Meanwhile education has come to be more of an open door to success than it used to be. Is it surprising, then, that the ungratified desire of the public to see realized something like equality of opportunity should take the direction of an endeavor to open doors by multiplying the means of education? This is the secret of the marvelous generosity of the taxpayers toward free high schools and universities. It accounts for the rocket-like rise of university extension. It explains the enormous gifts of rich men to education and the fact that until lately the one thing that occurred to a millionaire looking about for some way to benefit the masses was to endow a university. We went so far along this path because the other paths toward equalization of opportunity seemed to call for perilous experiment or were blocked by constitutions, courts, party organizations, and the resistance of the powerful.

We plume ourselves pardonably on a liberality in public education unexampled in history. However, it is well to recognize that this does not and cannot solve the social problem. The cost of instruction is but a part of the cost of education, for the pupil has to have food and clothes. The power of the bright sons of the poor to run for the prizes of life with the scions of the well-to-do is limited by the inability of their parents to keep them in school long enough. The United States Commissioner of Education estimates that one in nine of the pupils who entered school in 1905 graduates from the high school and that one in seventy will graduate from college. Those who drop out are no doubt eliminated as much by poverty as by lack of ability. Free instruction, then, by no means suffices to put the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in trying for the better places in society. Were we in earnest about equalizing educational opportunities we would see that no capable child dropped out of

school because its parents could not support it or needed its earnings. That is to say, we would spend three or four times as much on American education as we do and would appropriate for the better distribution of knowledge a billion or two of dollars that now go for luxury, vanity, and vice.

EDUCATION AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL

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Whenever the ruling class in a nation has worked out a philosophy of life or a set of ideals, the educational system tends to support that philosophy or those ideals. This is in conformity with the principle formulated by Sumner that mores are "subject to the strain of consistency with each other." Primitive groups had no philosophy of life and almost no ideals. They had no educational aims. What education there was consisted in the assimilation of the young to the folkways and mores of the group with some training in the practical arts of life and some instruction in the secrets of the group. China with its ancestor worship developed an educational program which centered about reverence for the past. Sparta's ideal of mastery by physical force led to exclusive emphasis on physical prowess and the development of martial virtues. The social élite of Athens with their worship of the harmoniously developed individual worked out an educational system which even today challenges the admiration of those who agree with their philosophy of life. Modern Prussia, obsessed with the ideal of a super-group possessing the earth by efficiency organized from above and backed by physical force, elaborated an educational program admirably adapted to secure that end. Had it not been for the power of inter-group organization through the ever-increasing alliance of her enemies, the wonderful dream of the Hohenzollerns might have come true.

The above-mentioned principle holds with regard to this country also, although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to make possible the crystallization of pedagogical thought into a definite philosophy of education, nor has our country enjoyed a condition of settled life so necessary for the working out of a thoroughly consistent system. We are still and always have been in a dynamic condition.

Our nation has hardly yet passed out of its early adolescence. Indeed only with the present war has there been any widespread thought as to our national destiny nor any clear-cut attempt to formulate a philosophy of our social life. A symposium printed in the *American Journal of Sociology* in January 1915 on "What Is Americanism?" in which some twenty-five leading men of the country took part, men representative of various lines of thought and activity, indicated that at that time at least we had nothing approximating a national ideal.

And yet we have had in this country from the very beginning of our history some fairly clear-cut ideals, and these have exerted a profound influence on our educational system. The ideals of liberty, equality, justice, the separation of church and state, and self-government which, however rudimentary, found expression or are implicit in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, have been the very foundation stones of our system of free public schools; indeed some of these ideals and their educational correlate go back to early Colonial days. The Massachusetts law of 1647, making permissive if not actually establishing a system of schools supported by public taxation with compulsory attendance, was the reflection of ideals which have since become national in scope.

Not only have the ideals of liberty, equality, justice, and self-government, however uncritically held, been prominent in this country from Colonial times, but since the Declaration of Independence and the formation of our national government there has been a more or less conscious and widespread feeling that we were working out here an experiment in democracy which would be an example to other nations. This thought was clearly expressed by Archbishop Ireland at the Centennial Conference of American Catholics at Baltimore: "We cannot but believe that a singular mission is assigned to America, glorious for ourselves and beneficent to the whole race, that of bringing forth a new social and political order based, more than any other that has heretofore existed, upon the common brotherhood of man, and more than any other securing to the multitude of the people social happiness and equality of rights."

In the development of our national ideal or ideals we have several stages. At first there were the ideals of liberty, equality, and justice as regards individuals, though these were vague and held with uncritical mind. Then there was the ideal of self-government, although when the Constitution was framed only the aristocracy was thought fitted to rule. Immediately connected with the above, as we have seen, was the ideal of working out an experiment in social organization which should be an example for other nations. But we were interested more in the form of our organization and in our ideals than in their concrete realization; and we were blinded to the weaknesses of our system by the marvelous success which seemed to be the result of our free institutions, although we know now that this was true only in a limited degree. National isolation was considered to be necessary to the success of our experiment, but the logic of events decreed otherwise. The second stage is marked by the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine and the establishment of a quasi-protectorate over the weaker nations of the Americas. A third step was taken with the Spanish War and our definite abandonment of our policy of isolation. A fourth step was taken by our entrance into the world-war as a champion of oppressed peoples everywhere, with an insistent demand that the civilized nations be so organized as to secure freedom and justice to all nations whether small or great. Another step remains to be taken.

The war has forced home to us as nothing else the essential weakness of some aspects of our national life. Ideals are seen to be vastly different from concrete actualities. Liberty has revealed itself all too often as confused with license and even anarchy. The equality boasted of in our Declaration of Independence is seen to be a very vague and shadowy thing, for we know all too well now that men are not born equal in physical, mental, or moral capacity, and that the actual conditions of life are not such as to bring about equality of opportunity nor at all times even equality before the law. Indeed though our President has said we were fighting to make the world safe for democracy, some have been led to ask seriously whether or not democracy as it actually exists in this country is really worth saving. Moreover we are led to raise the question

as to what we mean by democracy and find, upon reflection, that the democracy for whose safety we offered our all is not so much a form of government as a condition of social life. As Professor Dewey says: "Democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience"; or, as Professor Cooley has phrased it, "Democracy is the organized sway of public opinion." In other words, vital democracy, the democracy for which we have been fighting, is human life in social groups so organized from below that it can express itself spontaneously in appropriate institutions and develop according to its character and ideals, with due regard, of course, to other groups.

But the solution of the problem of world-peace is by no means settled by that formula. Are small nations to be condemned to eternal smallness? Shall low cultural types of civilization continue to hold possession of territory needed for the expansion of higher types? In the conflict of interests between national democracies what power is to decide the issue? Is sovereignty to pass from the national group to some international tribunal? If so, what principles shall be formulated as a guide to inter-group conduct? Moreover, in the endeavor to put an end to war we seem to be cutting off the possibility of social progress by the bio-social law of struggle and survival, and to be eliminating the greatest stimulus yet discovered to group unity and effective nationalism.

Novicow was the first among sociologists of recognized standing, so far as I know, to face this problem in a way that offers hope for continued social progress, for vital nationalism, and world-peace. He arranges types of struggles into a hierarchy culminating in rivalry in excellence. Instead of ambition for territorial greatness, a people should strive for that superiority in intellectual achievement, in art, in literature, in industrial and social organization that shall attract strangers to it, lead to peaceful annexations by popular vote, and provoke imitation on the part of other nations. In other words, national greatness in the future should be measured by power over other nations in the line of cultural expansion rather than by the number of square miles of territory possessed or the number or wealth of the inhabitants, although territory and num-

bers and wealth will come ultimately to the group that proves itself "most excellent" in the thought of the authority quoted.

The scope of the present paper precludes a discussion of this theory and the difficulties in the way of its general application, so it must suffice to point out that it fits in admirably with those ideals that have prevailed in this country from the beginning of its history and with its conduct in the present war, so may well form the basis of a working ideal for our country at present and so far as we see for years to come. Whatever may be the difficulties in the acceptance of such an ideal by small states with apparently no outlet for expansion, we in America have sufficient territory. Up to the present, too, we have experienced the power of an attractive social life and organization in drawing to our shores the dwellers of every clime. We have seen other groups thumbing our constitution, and their representatives studying our institutions that they might profit by our example. But we have also been chagrined at times when these same representatives have turned to other lands for the light they sought. But now with the prestige accorded us by our position in the present world-crisis has come the opportunity never before granted to any nation of being a guide to those groping in darkness or in the twilight of nascent development. As John A. Hobson, the English economist, has phrased it, "The enthusiastic adoption by our European statesmen and publicists of President Wilson's famous declaration that the object of the war is to make the world a safe place for democracy is either a momentous act of spiritual conversion or the last word in camouflage."¹ To us after the war is given the gigantic task of setting our national house in such order that the guests of the earth may freely inspect its every part and find such order and well-being that they shall depart with the desire for a speedy return; or if that be impracticable, take back the best we have of spiritual treasures—our ideals and our methods of expressing them in social institutions—not as a copy for slavish imitation, but for inspiration and suggestion.

Liberty, equality, justice! It is for us to make these ideals factual in every department of our social life; a liberty, however,

¹ *The Survey*, June 29, 1918.

that is consonant with social strength; an equality that with normal human beings means primarily equality of opportunity for self-development, self-expression, self-enlargement and service, and a justice which includes a recognition of individual limitations and imperfections, but also of social responsibility and one that is based primarily on an estimate of the long-run well-being of the social group and of all humanity. And then that ideal of democracy! This, too, must be translated from the realm of the abstract and ideal to the reality of actual, intelligent participation in associated living and in social control whether through diffused public opinion or through public opinion crystallized in legislative enactment. But the one comprehensive national ideal to which all others are subordinate may well be this—and I suggest it as the next logical step in the development of our national ideal: to work out here in America a form of associational life, both as a national whole and in subordinate social groups, so manifestly good that it shall challenge the admiration of other peoples to the degree that they shall desire to adapt our ideals and institutions to their own peculiar conditions and needs.¹ This ideal, too, has the advantage of affording an objective test of the good so insisted upon today in science.

To make this effective as a national ideal requires that it be the ideal in subordinate groups. States should consciously vie with states in the excellence of their system of government, in their treatment of the abnormal classes, in methods of taxation, and other matters pertaining to social welfare. Cities should vie with cities in the development of civic consciousness, in the effectiveness of municipal government in its various departments and activities, and in the manifest excellence of its social organizations—educational, fraternal, philanthropic, and religious. No higher compliment can be paid to a city than that some "plan" it has devised should prove so effective that it would spread to other cities by reflective imitation, as the Galveston plan of government by commission, or the Cleveland plan of budget system for united philanthropies, or the Gary system of schools. The most successful

¹The ideal is phrased by Novicow "provoquer l'imitation" les luttes, p. 393, and by the writer, a few years ago, presuming to coin a word to express it, "exemplification." See *Social Adaptation*, p. 324.

method yet devised for improving rural economic conditions is by means of "demonstration" projects in the raising of corn, wheat, potatoes, and various breeds of animals, and in business methods of farming. The demonstration school and church have also been started. It is high time that more social projects were launched in the nature of experiments for the general good. There is almost no limit to the possibilities of social progress by rational experiment, rivalry in excellence, and reflective imitation.

If the foregoing should become our ideal and the ideal of subordinate groups, what of our educational system, including aims, principles, and program? The ideal here is but a part of the one we have been developing. The educational aim should be to train our youth and mold our institutions for effective participation in the democracy that is to be an example for other nations; and it is to be a system so manifestly successful that it will provoke imitation in other groups. Now a unified and thoroughly consistent system in our country is not to be expected with states sovereign in this regard, nor is such to be desired, though a degree of uniformity may well be required and secured through a national bureau and through federal aid conditioned on the maintenance of certain minimum standards by the state or community. Progress and efficiency will be secured most rapidly by rivalry between states and communities in educational achievement. With such an ideal we will save ourselves from many of the errors of the past due to the uncritical imitation in this country of the educational aims and program of aristocratic England or materialistic Germany. And just now we are in danger of casting off even the good that may be despised because it bears the label "Made in Germany" and imitate without due criticism the educational innovations of England and France.

Now the first thing necessary in the reconstruction of our educational system to make it adapted to the new demands of a new democracy, would seem to be a survey of the defects in our social life which may and should be remedied through education.

The war has revealed, among other things, the inexcusable inefficiency of the industrial organization and methods in this and other countries. While figures are not available for the United

States we know that production per workman has greatly increased both on the farm and in the factory, and reports from England indicate that with five million men withdrawn from industry, the amount of production has been maintained with an increase of only about three million women and children. A striking illustration of increased war-time efficiency is in the driving of steel rivets in the shipbuilding industry, the average per day being now many times that maintained at the beginning of the war, nor is this "speeding up" necessarily to the detriment of the workers, for the time and fatigue studies of Galbraith and others indicate that production can be greatly increased with even lessened fatigue and nerve strain. Now efficiency in production is a prime requisite in social well-being and the educational system of the winning group must train for the highest possible productivity that is consonant with the long-run welfare of the workers and of the nation. This qualification is important, for the long-run well-being of workers and of the nation is as vitally affected by the ethics and practices of business as by its material product. No social surplus can atone for the injury done to the group by the war-profiteer, the grafter, the adulterator, and the fraudulent advertiser. But moral preaching will be in vain so long as business and social ethics sanction these methods, and so long as our youth are trained in shrewdness rather than in service. Business ethics and practice conducive to social welfare can be expected to prevail only when our youth are trained by actual participation in business carried on in ways approved by an enlightened social conscience—and just this is a function of the school that is to be.

The war, too, with the large per cent rejected because of physical defects should awaken educators and the public at large to the shortcomings of our school system along the line of physical training and the teaching of hygiene. Moreover the disclosures of the Surgeon General concerning the widespread prevalence of venereal diseases should shatter the false modesty that has tabooed the discussion of sex relations and start a crusade for the instruction of our youth somehow and somewhere in sex hygiene. The ravages of the Spanish influenza, too, should have its lesson for those keen to appreciate the function of the school in public health, while knowl-

edge that at least 100,000 infants die needlessly in this country every year because of the ignorance of mothers, with a total of some 600,000 preventable or postponable deaths per annum, should point the way to important changes in our educational program.

But again, the war has revealed the social weakness resulting from the presence in our midst of great numbers of unassimilated foreigners, some three million unable to speak or read the English language, hundreds of thousands segregated in our great cities in congested tenements many of which are plague spots of disease, immorality, and crime.

Recent investigations concerning mental defectiveness in the army, in our schools, among juvenile delinquents, prostitutes, and prison convicts point to the need of an educational program with special and ample provision for the training of the abnormal under conditions that are socially safe and forward-looking.

The war, again, has brought home to many with conviction the hiatus that exists between our ethics as formally held and as practiced all too often in business, professional, neighborhood, and even in family life. Our pulpits plead and thunder in vain in the face of a social organization which makes difficult the daily practice of the socially, and hence morally, good. Now this is the result of an educational system that has exalted the isolated individual and given almost no thought to the process of socialization. We have deified knowledge, but knowledge is devilish if used for merely selfish ends at the expense of others.

Along with narrow, pleasure-seeking individualism that has characterized so much of our life, especially before the war, the fundamental weakness of our social order is the great and increasingly inequality of wealth and income which has come to prevail, and the inequality of opportunity for self-development and self-expression which has resulted. Nothing is more important than an educational program which will secure greater equality of income based on the economic law of supply and demand, both demand and supply being modified in the interest of social well-being.

But while the war has made us sensitive to the shortcomings of our social life and educational program, it has pointed the way to future success, for it has proven the possibilities of education by

participation when organized and directed by masterful minds and inspired by a great purpose. Our boys in cantonment and field and trench have learned by co-operative endeavor lessons the future can never efface and have received a training for efficient democracy such as no schools in America have hitherto been prepared to give.

This brief sketch of a few of the social conditions and problems which need to be corrected by education if we are to develop a democracy worthy of reflective imitation, and the illustration of the value of some phases of army life in training to this end, suggest that the educational aim of the future should be this: to train our youth for rational participation in a social life and organization worthy of reflective imitation.

This aim, approximated in Dewey's term "participation," and in O'Shea's term "adjustment," and phrased by the speaker elsewhere as "active adaptation," is comparatively new in educational theory and newer still in practice, but when correctly interpreted is the one comprehensive aim best adapted to realize the national ideal suggested. But if we use the terms participation or adjustment we should qualify them by some such word as "rational," for the process is not to be merely spontaneous but increasingly purposeful; that is, our boys and girls are not only to work together, where practicable, in their school tasks of every sort, thus becoming socialized in feeling and trained in co-operation, but this co-operation is to be directed with certain ends in view, and they themselves are to become increasingly directive agents with a forward look. Each is to be assisted in finding himself and his place in society, and every social group is to be inspired and helped, as opportunity offers, to do its task as an integral part of a larger unity and of the social whole. The first principle of teaching as of philanthropy is "help to self-help." It is of supreme importance that our boys and girls be trained away from the narrow individualism which has so characterized American life in the past, and that has been fostered by our educational program to that kind of social individualism which means an ever-expanding self-consciousness and an ever-increasing power over the material and social environment in the interest of the developing self and of society. Individual rivalry and competition have been carried

to an extreme and need to be offset by group co-operation and inter-group competition, so organized and carried on, however, as to develop this expanding self-consciousness and along with it an expanding sentiment of loyalty. This can be done if the rivalry is in excellence carried on in accordance with principles that are generally recognized as just. Grade vies with grade, but all grades in a school co-operate in rivalry with some other school in the city. School vies with school, but all schools in a city compete against the schools in some other city. Group life thus organized will tend to develop that loyalty which Professor Royce considers to be the essence of morality, and will result, too, in the ultimate prevalence of that still higher principle which he considers to be the very acme of morality—loyalty to loyalty; for loyalty developed by rivalry in excellence through a hierarchy of ever-enlarging groups, and carried on according to principles recognized as securing justice to all, must result thus.

Now this aim of rational participation is far-reaching. It includes not only actual participation in social and socializing activities and in certain forms of industry to the degree that shall help pupils find themselves and their place in the social whole, but it includes preparation for and training in their chosen vocation whatever it may be. What each should do depends upon two things: the need of society and the interest and capacity of the individual. When there is a conjunction in any individual of knowledge of a social need and a conviction of ability to supply that need we have a "call," and the life-activity that results is in the highest sense a "calling" or vocation. Hitherto there has been almost no place in our educational program for guidance and training in this prime requisite for successful life—the making of a living—but there must be in the program of tomorrow. The educational system of the democracy that is worthy of imitation must discover the mechanic and train the mechanic, but its chief function will be to help the boy with a mechanical bent to find himself and his place in the world and give him every opportunity to become as efficient as possible not only as a mechanic but as a member of society. So, too, it must discover the chemist and train the chemist. It must discover the doctor, the lawyer, the artist, the industrial

organizer, the political and the religious leader, and train each for effective participation in the life of the social group and of humanity, each doing his task supremely well, each inspired with a purpose to add something to the sum total of human achievement, each with an enlarged self-consciousness so that he thinks and feels not only in terms of the empirical self, but increasingly in terms of family, community, church, industry, nation, humanity.

Three subordinate aims may well be kept in mind, yet all, as above indicated, are included in that of rational participation: the acquirement of useful knowledge and moral judgment, or *critical assimilation*, the development of power and initiative, or *cultivation*, and the motivation of a life-purpose with a social outlook, or *inspiration*. Each is to "enter into the spiritual possessions of the race," according to President Butler, but chiefly to the degree necessary for effective participation in the life of the group. Each is to acquire power over self, over nature, and over his fellow-man, not, however, for narrow personal ends, but for largeness of life and social service. And to hold our youth steady in the task of splendid achievement there is needed the motive of a great purpose. All too much of our school work today is a deadening routine and a spiritless grind. The teacher who can inspire his pupils with a purpose to be in order to do and to toil in order to serve is rare indeed. But never did life offer such a challenge to red-blooded youth as today. The call for the heroic will by no means end with the signing of the treaty of peace. The work of reorganizing American democracy and reconstructing the war-cursed regions of Europe furnishes the basis for an all-compelling appeal to the idealism and enthusiasm of youth which no educator can afford to overlook.

Now all of these aims can be carried out best, at least for the most part, in connection with co-operative tasks and projects at school, in the home, in industry, and in the social life of the community. They should persist all through life, too, in connection with one's vocation and avocation.

But while we demand that our schools shall train our boys and girls for effective participation in social life, the individual is not the sole educational unit. The eyes of educators are to be ever fixed on

two units, the individual to be increasingly trained and socialized, and such groups as the neighborhood, community, industrial unit, co-operating groups of pupils, and especially the family. Our schools, including the higher institutions, are to train for effective participation in every social activity, and this is to be done not only by co-operative tasks and activities within the school walls, but by direct and indirect influence on various social institutions. The school should become more and more the neighborhood and community center with the teachers more or less the directive agents. Parent-teacher associations and the school nurse should link up the school with the home, and this relation should be strengthened by the encouragement of homemaking projects, by more visits to the home by the teachers, and in some cases, as among certain of the foreign-born, by neighborhood classes.

The school may eventually control government by the introduction of or larger emphasis on the social sciences, by the establishment of mock "common councils," "legislatures," and "republics," by the encouragement of social surveys, and by the maintenance of an open forum in connection with its functions as a community center. Our colleges in the future are destined to play a larger part than in the past in the direction of state and national legislation.

The school may well train for a new type of industrial ethics and organization by the studies taught especially in connection with miniature business activities carried on within their walls, by co-operation with local industries both by part-time work by pupils and by extension lectures and courses, the latter for the most part under the direction of our technical schools and colleges.

Our educational system should be the fountain-head of a new morality, for the highest morality is that conduct which is most fitting for the long-run success of the group. In the school and on the playground usually connected with it, we have the supreme opportunity for the development of those primary ideals that are basal in democracy, in morality, and in Christianity: justice, loyalty, good faith, and kindness.¹ And the moral principles which shall be the ultimate precipitate of such a life will prove

¹Cooley, *Social Organization*, chap. iv.

more practical than any supposed to come by revelation or than those that are the product of closet thinking.

Religion, too, may well feel the impress of our public-school system. Modern Protestantism with hundreds of denominations and sects furnishes a sad commentary on the "unity of faith" which Christians profess. But the Great War, with Catholic priest, Jewish rabbi, and Protestant chaplain working side by side ministering to the wounded and dying; the war with such an imperative demand for achievement and with such unity of spirit developed that seven religious and philanthropic activities could get together in a drive for funds; this war with Catholic, Protestant, and Jew fighting shoulder to shoulder for a social cause and working side by side in the manifold activities of the Red Cross society with a spirit and motive truly religious—all this has afforded a training in co-operative endeavor that augurs well for the future. The intellect in discursive thought tends to divide; the heart in sympathy and the hand in service, unite. The school as such cannot and should not teach religious dogma, but it can and should encourage religious idealism. It should train in social service which, carried on in the right spirit, is at least half of religious life; and those thus trained and inspired will eventually bring warmth and life to religious institutions now cold and formal and otherworldly.

We conclude then, first, that the one all-comprehensive national ideal that is consonant with the ideals that have characterized our nation throughout its history; the one that fits in with our aspiration to work out here an experiment in government which should be a guide to other nations; the ideal that comprises our aims in the present war and the conditions laid down by our President as essential to perpetual peace; the ideal that promises to go farthest in taking the place of war as a means of developing that unity of thought and feeling and purpose, and that loyalty which is so essential to national strength and progress, is the ideal of working out here in the United States a democracy in all its phases and in the institutions vitally related to it, so manifestly excellent because of its relation to the well-being of the people and the strength of our institutions and of our nation as a whole, as shall be worthy of imitation by those social groups whose stage of civilization and condi-

tions of life make this practicable. We conclude, second, that this ideal can be realized best by emphasizing rivalry in excellence in ever-enlarging groups, thus engendering an expanding social consciousness accompanied by the sentiment of loyalty. We conclude, third, that the one educational aim thus far formulated by educators that gives promise of securing an educational system best qualified to work out this ideal and organization is that of *rational participation*, with the subordinate aims of *cultivation*, *critical assimilation*, and *inspiration*. We conclude, fourth, that in our educational program chief emphasis should be placed on the one hand on health, industrial efficiency, and a strong social personality on the part of individual pupils, and on the other, on the direct influence of our educational system on the family, the community, the state, and various social and industrial institutions so that each may become so organized and directed that it shall function as efficiently as possible as an integral part of a more inclusive unity reaching to the nation and ultimately to the family of nations that is to be.

THE AMERICAN SPIRIT AND THE ORGANIZATION OF MID-EUROPE

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER
Director, Mid-European Union, Washington, D.C.

Five years ago, at the meeting of this Society in Minneapolis, I said that the force of nationalism in Central Europe was becoming so strong that sooner or later the map of Europe would have to be changed in terms of this new force. Tonight I propose to discuss some of the principles according to which the change must take place, and the part America has played and must play in the change.

I would like to discuss the abstract sociological principles which underlie the whole subject, for the real solution of these new questions must be in terms of a proper social psychology. But since my attention has been so completely directed to the specific problems involved, I am going to presume on your good-will to relate you some history and do a little special pleading. I wish to interpolate, however, that one of the things that has given me the greatest satisfaction that has come to me in taking up the work on which I am engaged, is that there was absolutely no break between it and the sociological studies I had been making for some years. It has been a satisfaction because it had been another evidence that the science of sociology will prove to be fundamental in the solution of the practical problems of the larger society. The old hit-or-miss methods must yield to the application of principle.

Some ten years ago I began the study of the adjustment of Bohemians to American life, and I very soon discovered that every Bohemian community in the United States reflected the last five hundred years of Bohemian history and that our practical relations with Bohemians can never get away from that fact. In extending this study to many other nationalities the conclusion became more evident that every people whose history is full of struggle cannot be separated from its significance by emigration or by force. Much

to my surprise I found that I could learn in America quite as much about the peoples of Europe as in the country of their origin.

I have been amazed at the number of Bohemians bearing the name Svoboda. It seemed more common than Smith with us. I have never learned how it happened to become a surname. It also is a very common name of newspapers of the various Slavic nationalities and means "freedom" in all Slavic languages. There must be some intimate relation between the lack of freedom which has prevailed for so many centuries among the Slavic peoples of middle Europe and this word so common in their vocabularies which represents a hitherto unfulfilled aspiration. There is also a far more intimate relation between their coming to America and this aspiration for freedom than is generally appreciated.

Our Pilgrim ancestors set the stamp of nobility upon the search for freedom of conscience and political liberty. Frequently when I have been visiting foreign-language parochial schools the children have sung "America" for me. I used to be impressed with the incongruity of these immigrant children's lustily shouting,

"Land where my fathers died,
Land of the Pilgrim's pride."

But I have since concluded that it was not so incongruous after all. The fathers of these children did not speak English and had various religions, but if a true description of human impulses and emotions could be written, I think that we should find that these children represent an emotional ancestry remarkably similar to that of the older American stock. For example, all the world now knows of the Bohemians, or Czechs, whom we have not before differentiated from other Slavs. They have nurtured here in America the same spirit that has made the Czecho-Slovak army in Siberia one of the wonders of the age, and as I shall show later may make their republic the one oasis in the European world of disorder.

There is no clod so dead that oppression does not irk him, and his struggle to escape it is the beginning of individual character. The group struggle for the same purpose is the emancipation of the individual into a genuine social consciousness. America is both the symbol and reality of freedom to the oppressed of Europe. The

unselfish spirit of America may often exist only in words so far as individuals are concerned; but in the minds of the people of mid-Europe who have been successively oppressed by Tartar, Turk, and Teuton for weary centuries, America has come to stand for the fulfilment of an age-long struggle for national self-respect. Because it was also the land of economic opportunity, most Americans have thought that the immigrant came only for economic gain. No greater mistake could be made. Observe this: the Roumanian peasant in Roumania is in worse economic condition than his brother in Hungary, but it is the politically oppressed Roumanian that came to America and the free one that stayed at home; the Russian peasant is poor, but the emigrants from Russia are from subject peoples such as Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, and Germans; the Serbians from Bosnia and Hefzegovina are materially better off than the Serbians of Serbia, still they came and the others stayed. There is of course a fair proportion of ignorance, greed, and baseness among them, but we have no reason to consider it disproportionate.

The unescapable fact which concerns us now is that there are in the United States some ten millions of people from those countries in middle Europe to whom freedom has been denied, and that on the average they constitute more than one-tenth as many as their fellow-nationals left in Europe. When one realizes this fact and knows that every political party and point of view in Europe is represented in full emotional force in America, one must understand that there is an intimate connection between the spirit of America, whatever it may be, and the reorganization of middle Europe, however it may take place.

The one common bond of the peoples to the east of Germany has been their hatred of Germany. It was very difficult for the American authorities or American public opinion to realize this. On last Fourth of July I saw on a banner which was being carried by a group of Bohemians in a parade in Cleveland this legend: "Americans have courage! We have fought the tyrants for three hundred years." Up to nearly the end of the war, military authorities refused to believe that two-thirds of the subjects of Austria-Hungary were her bitterest enemies and eager friends of the

American ideal. As I have written elsewhere, last January, as the result of four meetings of four nationalities held in Camp Sherman and addressed by speakers in their own language who told them what American ideals in this war were as voiced by President Wilson, approximately a thousand men who had applied for their discharge as enemy aliens withdrew their applications.

In September the Mid-European Union was organized with its original members representing the seven oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary. Its two principal objects were to form a barrier to Germany's ambition to the east by creating a united front, and to co-operate with the United States and the Allies for the attainment of freedom, which they were then led to expect from the war for democracy. The most serious problem in this Union was the historical differences which have so long existed between the various nationalities, having been sedulously cultivated by their political masters in order to prevent just such a union. In our conferences frequently these differences have become acute, but it was only necessary to refer to President Wilson and the American ideal to instantly restore peace and confidence. What this means is that the hope of Europe is bound up with America. It might be possible to isolate America from *political* bonds with Europe, but it will not be possible to separate her from *spiritual* influence and *spiritual* responsibility.

The following quotation from the Czecho-Slovak Declaration of Independence shows how intimate this connection is:

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nations for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind—of the actual equality of nations—and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars five hundred years ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood today in Russia, Italy, and France.

Immediately after this declaration the Mid-European Union, by this time consisting of twelve nationalities, met in Independence

Hall, Philadelphia, and after four days of conference issued their Declaration of Common Aims. These nationalities through their accredited representatives were: Lithuanians, Poles, Czechoslovaks, Uhro-Rusins, Ukrainians, Roumanians, Jugo-Slavs, Italian Irredentists, Albanians, Greek Irredentists, Armenians, and Zionists. They were just as much impressed by the significance of the historic surroundings as were the natives of Philadelphia who crowded around them. Their Liberty Bell ringing within a few feet of where our Liberty Bell stands forever mute filled them with the same quality of feeling as ours would have filled us.

Let us now turn to Europe. If you take the map of Europe you will see that east of the Rhine and the Adriatic, not counting Greece or Scandinavia, there is no genuinely stable government except in Czechoslovakia. Bulgaria and Roumania still have the semblance, but the internal reforms that are necessary will inevitably bring disorder there. This is the most fearful prospect that ever faced mankind. The single oasis is the little Czechoslovak republic right in the middle, with no outlet to the sea, and almost surrounded by her age-long enemies, the Germans and the Magyars. She may withstand the chaos and she may not; but potentially she is the hope of the world, for her people are self-disciplined for democratic self-control. But her power and standing would have been absolutely impossible had it not been for the money and moral support of the Bohemians of America in the early days of the war, which made possible the educational and organizing work of Professor Masaryk. It is a matter of interest to us that Masaryk, the author of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence and first president of the republic, was a professor of sociology.

The problems that must be faced are greater than man ever faced before. Two things are outstanding: the solution must remove the old oppressions; and the world looks to America to see that the new order is established. There will be difficulties and failures, but that need not discourage us. If the war had not come to an end so quickly, the members of the Mid-European Union would have gone far toward making a working agreement among themselves; but as it is, with the pressure of the common danger removed, each nationality tends to turn to its own internal problems

rather than to the problems of interrelationship. So it is with the rest of the world. But the problems of interrelationship remain, and America's responsibility for their solution is greater than ever.

We all know that America's unselfishness and idealism are far from universal. There are among us those who are Prussian junkers in every purpose, and there is great ignorance and lack of sympathy. At any moment we may be weighed in the balance and found wanting. Just as many men who care nothing for democracy got behind President Wilson's slogan, so many have accepted the fine phrase "self-determination" without the slightest notion of its application. Many people have an idea where Poland is, but too many are like a brigade officer at one of my lectures at Camp Sherman who came to me and putting his finger on the shore of the Adriatic said: "I am glad I know where Poland is"; or the editor of a well-known magazine who saw my map last August and said: "What are the Czecho-Slovaks doing there in the center of Europe when we read about them in Siberia?"

Now comes the special plea. If we are to do our part, there are four points which must be insisted upon.

First, intelligent understanding of the peoples for whose freedom this war was fought. We cannot co-operate with those we do not know. Who are Slavs and who are not is probably not known to one in ten thousand in America. What are the history, aspirations, language, literature, religion, customs, and resources of each people? When we can answer these questions our snobbish superiority over these emerging nations will disappear. It is our first duty to know.

The second follows close—sympathetic assistance both spiritual and material. The former is difficult because the culture and religions are different. Until we can recognize spiritual values in unfamiliar forms we cannot live adequately in the new world. When our reconstruction agencies go among these peoples, if they do not get into sympathetic relations most of their efforts will be in vain. On the material side there is grave danger that our commercial energy will seek concessions and profits even to exploitation from peoples not yet organized or trained to be on their guard. Our economic assistance must be given with an idealism hitherto

unknown in the realm of finance. If America fails in this respect and imposes an alien commercial bondage to replace the old political bondage, we shall betray the deep trust that has been given us and sow the seeds that will reap the whirlwind.

Third, we must practice the virtue of patience. Many see in the disorder and uncertainty of the forming nations a reason for wishing the old controls back. Austria-Hungary can never be revived, and it is absurd to expect unity and quiescence among people just entering freedom. They must find themselves. Our own colonies became the United States only after years of discord, and then we had a Civil War. The events leading up to our Declaration of Independence were far less harmonious than the sessions of the twelve nations composing the Mid-European Union preceding their declaration.

Fourth, and finally, is the proper treatment of the immigrant in our midst. The method of dealing with this question is generally called Americanization. It has multitudes of agencies; some are wise, some are indifferent, and many are vicious. If Americanism were a determined and static thing, the methods of attaining it would be as simple as the methods of Prussianism; but it is not determined and static, and what we want is not men molded in the same form, but people capable of entering into responsible citizenship in a moving democracy. There are some who think this will be attained through compulsory instruction in English and the taking out of citizenship papers. These are only incidents which may or may not help toward the object. A writer in a popular magazine recently urged that there could be no true Americanism until the foreign-language newspapers were suppressed, giving as the strongest argument that the Kaiser, who was a very wise man, practiced just that method. Can we learn nothing vicariously from European experience! When they are free to keep their language in Europe they will readily learn English in America. Until that time neither law nor public opinion can force the aliens of oppressed nations to forget their mother-tongues. The Swedes, who number three times as many in America as the Bohemians, have never been able to maintain a daily newspaper while the Bohemians have eight,

which is approximately the measure of the effort they have had to maintain to keep their language alive.

An effective Americanization must begin where the immigrant's soul is, not where we think it ought to be. The Old World blundered there, and we are only just learning that the soul of a people cannot be killed. In fact the very suppression nurtures its strength. Even if it were desirable, it is impossible to make our immigrants forget their heritage from history. Out of this fact may come an enrichment and enlargement of American life, if we are broad enough to absorb it; the spirit of America is bound up with the organization of Central Europe and cannot escape though it would. Democracy there will mean democracy here, and tyranny there will mean disintegration here. No method of approaching the problem of Americanization which leaves out of account the intimate connections of the immigrant to the fate of his fatherland can have any success; and I plead that this fact may not be forgotten.

Opposition to the League of Nations is being made in high places on the ground that America should still maintain her old isolation. But America has no isolation. The problems of Europe are a part of us. To deny our responsibility for them is to refuse to save ourselves. To work them out in terms of American democracy is to help organize Europe in the American spirit.

DISCUSSION

ALBION W. SMALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

As I have not had an opportunity to read the leading papers on this topic I must confine myself to a few suggestions of the simplest sort.

However the topic may be interpreted for the purposes of this discussion, I am interested primarily in some kind of concerted action by Americans as a people, to the end that in the not too far distant future all Americans may acquire the grace of "thinking American." Perhaps it was somewhere in *Dynamic Sociology* that Lester F. Ward was replying to the people who said, "It's no use to try to change the world. It can't be done. All the attempts to do it have done mischief." "Very well," Ward answered in substance. "If by trying we have done mischief, that shows we have done something. It is up to us to learn how to do the something that makes for progress." One of the most elementary and obvious lessons for Americans to salvage out of the

war is the appalling power for mischief that has been exerted by mischievously directed German public education. By analogy with Ward's inference, if so much mischief can be done by viciously directed public education, equal energy rightly directed would accomplish enormous good. In the phenomena of "thinking German" we have not only observed incredible variations from normal mentality and morality, but this psychopathic condition must be charged almost wholly to deliberate public pedagogy. Of course this public pedagogy has not been entirely in and of the schools. It has been the *Kultur* of which those Germans who think in terms of psychic forces have boasted that it is a concentration of every energy of the German people upon the will to dominate the world by fair means or foul, or perish in the attempt. In this program those public agencies ordinarily classed as educational have been as distinctly self-conscious as the Ministry of War or Finance. It has been their job to deliver over to the government each rising generation perverted from ability to think as any other people in the world think, and indomitably self-satisfied in thinking as Germans alone can think. In this exhibition of energy gone wrong we have a demonstration of power available in any nation to make things go right. I do not mean that in the present stage of civilization a mere change in the direction of control will accomplish good in the exact ratio of the previous output of evil. That would presuppose capacities of co-ordination not yet developed. I mean that, with a distinct purpose of social pedagogy in direction of our educational machinery, the United States might in a generation advance from a juvenile to an adolescent stage of social consciousness, and from a relatively low to a relatively high grade of social efficiency.

Without trying to distinguish between "thinking British," or "thinking French," or "thinking Japanese," or "thinking American," no one understands American history very well who does not know that, along with keen interest in the "main chance" which has given us our reputation as dollar-chasers, there has always been in our make-up an equally genuine strain of idealistic altruism. Even when we have been deepest in the scrimmage for the main chance we have always thought of ourselves as torch-bearers for human freedom. However bumptious we may have been in advertising this estimate of ourselves, it has not been a mere hypocritical boast. At the worst there has been an element of downright world-patriotism in it, to save it from contempt when tested by the record of our actual team work with the rest of the world in promoting human programs. On the present level of human experience to think exclusively in terms of nationality or of internationality is equally sterile. A certain quota of men and women have been called on in each recent century to detach themselves from the family group and dedicate themselves to certain tasks which family bonds would embarrass. It remains true that families as such cannot function at their best unless they live in the first place unto themselves, unless they preserve their group integrity, and loyalty, and co-operation. So of nations. They do their best for the world not by national disintegration and demoralization, even when expressed in terms of internationalism.

Nations do their best for the world when they first develop the best national character and the best national housekeeping which their circumstances permit, and a co-ordinate division of these circumstances is loyalty to the function of co-operating with all other well-disposed nations in working out a common destiny. "Thinking American" involves attention to both these components of our national life, but it will never become a highly potential factor until it presupposes much more information and intelligence about ourselves and the rest of the world than Americans have thus far possessed.

A year ago each of our great social-science associations was memorialized with reference to co-operation in helping our colleges answer the question, "How may we use our resources to the best purpose in training for citizenship?" Nothing seems to have come of it. The more immediate calls to specific war services and the disappointing Student Army Training Corps experiment partially account for the inaction. It would be a lamentable dereliction of duty if these societies should prove permanently indifferent to the implicit as well as the uttered demands for help of this sort. If these societies cannot furnish more light and leading on this particular problem than any other source, not only for colleges, but for each grade of our educational system, it is hardly possible to imagine anything else which they may do as having reality enough to justify their existence.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 27-28, 1918

General Subject: "Sociology and Education"

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27

9:00 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

10:00 A.M. Session on "Sex and Race Aspects of Education."

"Ideals and Methods in the Social Education of Women," **ANNA GARLIN SPENCER**, Meadville Theological School.

Discussion: **DR. LUCILE EAVES**, Boston; **DR. MARION TALBOT**, University of Chicago.

"Education in Its Relation to the Conflict and Fusion of Cultures: with Special Reference to the Problems of the Immigrant, Negro, and Missions," **ROBERT E. PARK**, University of Chicago.

Discussion: **U. G. WEATHERLY**, University of Indiana.

2:00 P.M. Session on "Sociology in the Common Schools."

"Sociology in the Education of Teachers," **F. R. CLOW**, State Normal School, Oshkosh, Wis.

"Sociological Background of the Vocational Concept," **JOHN M. GILLETTE**, University of North Dakota.

"Social Education in College through Group Activities," **WALTER R. SMITH**, State Normal School, Emporia, Kan.

Discussion: **MONROE N. WORK**, Tuskegee Institute; **F. STUART CHAPIN**, Smith College; **ROSS L. FINNEY**, State Normal School, Valley City, N.D.

8:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Statistical Association. Presidential Addresses: "A Primary Culture for Democracy," **CHARLES H. COOLEY**, president of the American Sociological Society; "Statistics and Government," **WESLEY C. MITCHELL**, president of the American Statistical Association.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28

9:00 A.M. Annual Business Meeting of the American Sociological Society.

10:00 A.M. Session on "Social Education through the Community."

"Social Education through the Community Center," **JOHN COLLIER**, Training School for Community Workers, New York, N.Y.

"Extension Teaching of Sociology in Communities," **CECIL C. NORTH**, Ohio State University.

PROGRAM OF THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING 191

"Sociological Education of Rural People," JOHN PHELAN, Massachusetts Agricultural College.

Discussion: J. L. GILLIN, University of Wisconsin; W. S. BITTNER, Indiana University; ERNEST R. GROVES, New Hampshire College; PAUL L. VOGT, Philadelphia.

2:00 P.M. Round Table Conference on "The Teaching of Sociology to Undergraduates," A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota, leader; M. C. ELMER, University of Kansas; JESSICA B. PEIXOTTO, University of California; WILLIAM J. KERBY, Catholic University; F. S. CHAPIN, Smith College.

4:00 P.M. Joint Session with the American Economic Association on Social and Economic Theory. (Fifteen-minute papers.)

"The Place of Economic Theory in an Era of Readjustment," J. M. CLARK, University of Chicago.

"The Psychological Basis of the Economic Interpretation of History," W. F. OGBURN, University of Washington.

"The Institutional Approach to Economic Theory," WALTON H. HAMILTON, Amherst College.

Discussion.

8:00 P.M. Session on "National Aspects of Education."

"The National Spirit in Education," E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin.

"Education and the National Ideal," L. M. BRISTOL, West Virginia University.

"The American Spirit and the Organization of Middle Europe," H. A. MILLER, Oberlin College, director of the Democratic Mid-European Union.

Discussion: JULIA C. LATHEROP, Children's Bureau.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR,
DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Membership Statement

The total membership of the American Sociological Society for the calendar year 1918 numbers 810. The membership for 1917 was 817. This latter number has been altered by the following changes in our membership lists:

Membership in 1917.....	817
Members resigning.....	65
Members dropped.....	128
Members deceased.....	4
 Total lost.....	 197
 Members renewing, <i>ex officio</i>	 1
Members renewing, exchange	7
Members renewing, paid	620
New members for 1918.....	182
 Total membership for 1918.....	 810

Following the instruction of the Executive Committee at its 1917 meeting, no analysis of the membership by year of joining is submitted.

Reasons Why Members Do Not Renew

This year, following the custom of last year, the Secretary, after the fourth duebill had been sent to members, asked those not renewing for reasons. Most of the replies indicated that the war was the cause.

Campaign for New Members

In co-operation with the publishers of the *American Journal of Sociology*, the University of Chicago Press, the Society has conducted a campaign for new members this autumn, the expenses of the campaign to be shared equally by the Press and the Society. As far as the figures are available while this report is being written, the following represent this enterprise. Personal typewritten letters were sent by the Secretary to the following:

Persons applying but not joining in 1917.....	18
Miscellaneous inquiries.....	68
Recommended by members.....	188
Asking for reprints of 1917 <i>Proceedings</i>	88
Teachers of sociology.....	293

The publishers sent out 910 invitations in the form of circular letters to members of the National Institute of Social Science.

While this report is being composed it is too early to estimate the returns. The letters were mailed during the first fifteen days of December.

In addition to these efforts President Cooley prepared a letter which was mailed from the Secretary's office to the 293 teachers of sociology, urging them to present the advantages of membership in the Society to their students. Returns from this effort are also not yet available.

List of Teachers of Sociology

According to our custom the office sent in November a letter to college presidents in the United States asking for the names of their teachers of sociology. A self-addressed card was inclosed. Four hundred and twenty-eight letters were mailed. Practically every college responded after a follow-up letter was sent. This list is now in typewritten form ready to send to societies, individuals, etc. The last list was used by several institutions, including the national government. On the list are 392 names, of which 100 are members of the Society. To those not members a personal letter asking them to become members of the Society was written.

Delay in Mailing Duebills

On September 26 envelopes were ordered from the government in which to mail the bills for 1919 membership dues. It has usually required two weeks to get the envelopes. This year they were not delivered until December 17, in spite of the Secretary's efforts to hurry them. The reason given for the delay was shortage of labor at the printing office. The Secretary regrets this unavoidable delay in mailing the bills, especially because the program of the annual meeting is included in the envelopes. The program was published, however, in the September and November issues of the *American Journal of Sociology*.

Membership List to Publishers

This year as usual the Secretary sent reprints of the membership list from the volume of *Papers and Proceedings* to about eighty-five foreign and domestic publishers. This enables our members to be placed on the mailing lists to receive announcements of books, etc.

Invitations for the 1919 Meeting

Invitations have been received for the next year's meeting from the following organizations: San Francisco Convention and Tourist League, Chicago Association of Commerce, the Merchants' Association of New York, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, and numerous organizations in St. Louis, Missouri.

Respectfully submitted,
SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR,
DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Audit of Accounts

According to the custom established last year the accounts were audited by a public accountant, the work being done by the company which did it a year ago, viz., Ernest Reckitt & Company.

Following the suggestion of the auditor made a year ago, the office has installed this year an additional record to enable the auditor to check the membership more adequately. A columnar record book was adopted, containing columns for ten years. This will enable the auditor to check at a glance the different years in which members have paid yearly dues. This increases the clerical work of the office but gives an additional method of verification.

Clerical Assistance

The Secretary-Treasurer has had much annoyance this year through the many changes in his assistants, having had five different persons. One of these clerical assistants forged the Society's and Treasurer's names on checks to the amount of \$21.00. After considerable difficulty with complaints of members who had paid but were not credited, the Treasurer recovered the money from the assistant, who had already been discharged. During the latter part of the year the Treasurer has kept the books and accounts himself, considering that less labor than to instruct assistants.

STATEMENT OF AUDIT

The following is the Auditor's statement:

"CHICAGO, ILL., December 21, 1918

"The American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois

"GENTLEMEN: In accordance with the instructions of your Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Scott E. W. Bedford, we have audited your books for the year ended December 19, 1918, and now submit our report thereon, together with the Schedules attached as follows:

Schedule "A," Balance Sheet as at December 19, 1918.
Schedule "B," Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended December 19, 1918.

"Cash Receipts

"We have traced the Cash Receipts as recorded on the Cash Sheets as having been deposited in the bank by verification with the Bank Statements.

"Dues from Members"

"The receipts from members for dues were checked by us for the entire period with the Register of Members, which was installed at the suggestion contained in our report of December 19, 1917. We found same to be accurately kept. A comparative test was also made by us of the names as recorded in the Membership Register with those printed in the last published list of members, and, in so far as examined by us, were found to be in agreement therewith.

"The trial balance of the members' cards (in numbers only) as presented to us also agreed with the total number of members as recorded on the Cash Sheets.

"Cash Disbursements"

"We verified the disbursements of the Society by means of the canceled checks and vouchers, and agreed the bank balance as at the close of the period under review.

"Generally"

"We were given to understand that, with the exception of one or two small items, all disbursements made include all obligations of the Society to date.

"The bond of the Northwestern Electric Company belonging to the Society was produced to us for our inspection.

"A certificate of the University of Chicago Press, dated December 17, 1918, was seen by us, in which they stated that they held 1,212 copies of the various volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* of your Society in stock.

"Respectfully submitted,

"ERNEST RECKITT & Co.,

"Certified Public Accountants"

Schedule "A"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at December 19, 1918
(Subject to report herewith)

Assets

Cash in Bank..... \$ 402.48

NORTHWESTERN ELECTRIC CO.

6 per cent Sinking Fund Gold Bond..... 500.00

OFFICE FURNITURE:

Remington Typewriter..... \$ 60.00

Cabinet File..... 58.65

118.65

\$1,021.13

Liabilities

Surplus, as at December 17, 1917..... \$1,798.43

Deduct excess of expenditures over receipts for
year ended December 19, 1918, as per Schedule

"B".....

777.30

\$1,021.13

Schedule "B"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM DECEMBER 18, 1917, TO
DECEMBER 19, 1918

(Subject to report herewith)

Cash Receipts

Dues from members for 1918.....	\$1,616.22
Dues from members for 1919.....	75.00
Exchange on checks received.....	6.60
Royalties on publications.....	358.75
Interest on bond owned.....	30.00
	<hr/>
Total cash receipts.....	\$2,086.57

Cash Disbursements

Publication expense of <i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	\$1,026.69
Publication expense of <i>Papers and Proceedings</i> , Vol. XII.....	925.42
Office salaries—clerical and stenographic.....	369.73
Postage and express.....	246.66
Printing.....	103.25
Stationery.....	29.10
Auditing.....	25.00
Office expense.....	21.60
Secretary's expense at annual meeting.....	83.02
Campaign for new members.....	8.97
Advertising.....	3.83
Insurance on <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1.45
Exchange on checks.....	14.15
Membership refund.....	5.00
	<hr/>
Total cash disbursements.....	\$2,863.87
Balance, being excess of disbursements over receipts	777.30

Cash Summary

Cash in bank, December 17, 1917.....	\$1,179.78
Total cash receipts for year ended December 19, 1918.....	2,086.57
	<hr/>
	\$3,266.35
Deduct total cash disbursements for year ended December 19, 1918	2,863.87
	<hr/>
Cash in bank, December 19, 1918.....	\$ 402.48

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Treasurer*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 17, 1917, TO DECEMBER 19, 1918

Cost of Printing Volume XII

The Treasurer's statement will show that the cost of printing an edition of thirteen hundred (1,300) copies of Volume XII of the *Papers and Proceedings* was \$925.42.

Additions to Volume XII

This volume contained the following features in addition to the matter printed in previous editions: program of the annual meeting; complete reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor; minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee and of the business meeting; and complete table of contents of all the volumes of *Proceedings*. This gives publicity to certain facts which were previously learned only by the officers of the Society, or by those who chanced to be in attendance at the annual meetings. Volume XII is the largest volume yet issued, having 269 pages; Volume XI is the next in size with 233 pages.

Reprints to Discussers

The editor has made another effort this year to secure the manuscript of papers for the annual meeting in order to get them into galley proof and to the discussers before the session at which the paper was to be presented. To the eleven persons writing the papers letters were sent on November 1 asking for their manuscripts. On December 10, out of the eleven, six had sent in their copy.

Reprints for Distribution

For advertising the character of our papers appearing in Volume XII of the *Proceedings*, twenty-five reprints were made of each paper and sent to prospects, or were taken to the annual meeting for free distribution.

Reduction in the Size of the "American Journal of Sociology"

Beginning with the July issue the number of pages of the *Journal*—the official organ of the Society—was reduced by order of the government. No complaints from members on account of this have reached the Managing Editor.

"Papers and Proceedings" on Hand

On December 17 the number of the different volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand was as follows:

Vol. I.....	120	Vol. VII	88
Vol. II.....	43	Vol. VIII	119
Vol. III.....	57	Vol. IX	69
Vol. IV.....	79	Vol. X	234
Vol. V.....	74	Vol. XI	55
Vol. VI.....	40	Vol. XII	234

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 27, 1918

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 A.M. by President Cooley in the salon of the Jefferson Hotel. The following were present: Professors Cooley, Chapin, Gillette, and Bedford.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor, previously given to members of the Committee, were read in part and explained and ordered filed.

It was moved and carried that the Committee express a preference for holding the next annual meeting in Lexington, Kentucky.

It was moved and carried that President Blackmar be empowered to confer with the informal Committee on "Standardization of Rural Research," chairman, C. J. Galpin, which met at the time of our annual meeting in Philadelphia in 1917, with a view to making this one of the standing committees of the Society.

Mr. Bedford notified the Committee that he could not accept the three positions of Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor any longer unless relieved of all duties except purely advisory, that he had served the Society in these positions for seven of the thirteen years of its history and felt that the affairs of the Society were in reasonably good condition to turn over to someone else. It was moved and carried that arrangements be made by Mr. Bedford with a representative of the University of Chicago Press for delegating his duties to a person mutually agreeable to him and to the Press, the understanding being in accord with a letter from Mr. Newman Miller, director of the Press.

The Committee then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, DECEMBER 28, 1918

The annual business meeting was called to order by President Cooley in the salon of the Jefferson Hotel, about thirty-five members being present.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor were read in part and ordered filed.

President Cooley made a report of his work for the year regarding the construction of the program and other matters. He read a letter of greetings from Professor Rene Worms, secretary of the Institut International de Sociologie.

It was moved and carried that President Cooley send a message of greetings to Professor Worms from this Society.

It was moved and carried that greetings be sent by Professor Cooley to the sociological societies in the nations recently our Allies in arms, with a view to establishing a better understanding in our common labor.

The Committee on Adaptation of Courses to War Conditions, F. H. Giddings, chairman, made no report. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Standardization of Research, J. L. Gillin, chairman, made no report. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Statistics, co-operating with the Economic and Statistical societies, reported through its chairman, W. N. Adriance, that the committee had rendered aid to the Federal Board on Centralized Statistics. It was moved and carried that the committee make an effort in the next census to secure a more satisfactory classification of the population upon the basis of urban and rural residence. The committee was continued.

The Committee on Nominations named the following persons for the offices indicated:

President, Frank W. Blackmar, University of Kansas; First Vice-President, James Q. Dealey, Brown University; Second Vice-President, Edward C. Hayes, University of Illinois; Secretary-Treasurer and Editor, Scott E. W. Bedford, University of Chicago; Executive Committee, E. L. Earp, Drew Theological Seminary; and Grace Abbott, Federal Children's Bureau.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN M. GILLETTE, *Chairman*
C. W. THOMPSON
E. L. EARP

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING 201

It was moved and carried that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the persons for the offices indicated.

It was moved and carried that the incoming president appoint a committee to inquire into what is and what may be done in the teaching of sociology in the grades of the public schools and in the high schools of the United States. The committee appointed by President Blackmar is as follows: A. J. Todd, Charles A. Ellwood, John Phelan, W. R. Smith.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Any person may become a member of this Society upon payment of Three Dollars and may continue such by paying thereafter annually a fee of Three Dollars.

By a single payment of Fifty Dollars any person may become a life member of the Society.

Each member is entitled to a copy of the current publications of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer—elected at each annual meeting—and an Executive Committee consisting of the officers above mentioned *ex officio*, together with six elected members whose terms of office shall be three years; except that of those chosen at the first election two shall serve for but one year and two for two years.

The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer may be filled by the same person.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

All officers shall be elected only after nomination by a special committee of the Society appointed by the Executive Committee; except that the officers for the first year shall be nominated by a committee of three to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting at which this constitution is adopted.

All officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. In his absence his duties shall devolve,

successively, upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary, and upon the Treasurer.

The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody of the funds of the Society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, appropriate money, appoint committees and their chairmen, with suitable powers, and in general possess the governing power in the Society except as otherwise specifically provided in this constitution. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual election.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

ARTICLE VII—RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions to which objection is made shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its approval before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Society.

AMENDMENT I

(Adopted in 1914)

The Executive Committee shall appoint each year a Managing Editor for the annual volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. It shall be his duty to collect, edit, and arrange the material for the *Papers and Proceedings* of the annual meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1919

Abbott, Edith, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Adams, James F., 151 Nagle Ave., New York, N.Y.
Adams, Samuel E., 205 Gaston St., East, Savannah, Ga.
Addams, Jane, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Ainsworth, Harry, Moline, Ill.
Allaben, M. C., Room 710, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Alling, Elizabeth, 311 N. Brooks St., Madison, Wis.
Alling, Mortimer H., Box 1232, Providence, R.I.
Anderson, Charles M., Route 1, Box 32, Brownstown, Ind.
Anderson, George N., 661 Burr St., St. Paul, Minn.
Anderson, Roy R., Loudon, Tenn.
Andrae, Lydia, 620 Langdon St., Madison, Wis.
Andrews, Helen H., 3224 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Andrews, John B., American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St., New York, N.Y.
Armstrong, Samuel Treat, Hillbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y.
Artman, J. M., Y.M.C.A. College, 5315 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Arvold, A. G., Agricultural College, S.D.
Athey, Mrs. C. N., 100 S. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Aucult, Lucille K., 69 W. Park Ave., Aurora, Ill.
Austin, Charles Burgess, 419 W. 119th St., New York, N.Y.
Avery, Samuel P., 61 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.
Babson, Roger W., 31 Abbott Road, Wellesley Hills, Mass.
Badanes, Saul, 565 Madison St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Baker, Herbert M., Box 727, Greeley, Colo.
Baker, O. E., 1 Hesketh St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Balch, Emily G., 130 Prince St., Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Baldwin, Simeon W., New Haven, Conn.
Ballard, Lloyd Verner, 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis.
Barnes, Harry E., 105 Lovell St., Worcester, Mass.
Bartholomew, Virgil W., 619 Franklin St., Michigan City, Ind.
Batten, S. Z., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Baumann, LeRoy E., 2635 Sedgwick Ave., New York, N.Y.
Baumgartel, Walter, Agricultural College, Fargo, N.D.
Beach, Walter G., State College, Pullman, Wash.
Bedford, Scott E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Beer, William, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.
Belcher, Alice E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.
Beller, William F., 51 E. 123d St., New York, N.Y.
Benecke, H. H., North Carolina State Normal College, Greensboro, N.C.
Bengtson, Caroline, 1201 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
Benz, Virginia, 1322, 12th St., NW., Washington, D.C.
Berger, Victor L., 980 First St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Berks, Lothar von, care of German Savings Bank, 157, 4th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Bernard, L. L., 608 South E. 7th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

Bernheimer, Charles S., 1475 President St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Bessey, John M., 3702 Woolworth Bldg., New York, N.Y.
Bettman, Alfred, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.
Bever, James, 614 Ivy St., Bellingham, Wash.
Beyle, Herman C., 700 E. Monroe St., Franklin, Ind.
Bidgood, Lee, P.O. Box 416, University, Ala.
Bieberman, Lucille W., 425 North Park St., Madison, Wis.
Binder, Rudolph M., New York University, Washington Square, New York, N.Y.
Binnewies, W. G., Fairmount College, Wichita, Kan.
Bishop, Charles McTyeire, 1310 University Ave., Georgetown, Tex.
Bishop, Margaret, 114 McKinley Ave., Lansdown, Pa.
Bittner, W. S., 802 Hunter Ave., Bloomington, Ind.
Bixby, W. H., 508 Federal Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Bizzell, William B., Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station, Tex.
Black, John D., 420, 8th St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.
Blackburn, William J., Jr., 130 E. Woodruff Ave., Columbus, Ohio
Blackmar, F. W., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
Blagden, Edward S., 1642, 21st St., NW, Washington, D.C.
Blaine, Anita McCormick, 101 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
Bodenhafer, W. D., 5722 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Boettiger, Louis A., 1209 Seventh St., Fargo, N.D.
Bogardus, Emory S., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
Bohn, Mrs. R. M., care of George J. Sharkey, 6816 Lakewood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Bolin, John S., 315 Library Bldg., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Bond, Jesse H., 326 Pennsylvania Ave., SE, Washington, D.C.
Bonney, Ethelind M., 1213 S. California Ave., Stockton, Cal.
Boodin, John Elof, 717 E. 2d St., Northfield, Minn.
Bossard, James H. S., 833 Paxinosa Ave., Easton, Pa.
Bostwick, Arthur E., St. Louis Public Library, St. Louis, Mo.
Bourne, Henry E., College for Women, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Bowerman, George F., Public Library, Washington, D.C.
Bowers, L. B., 1017 Market St., Parkersburg, W.Va.
Bowman, C. A., Albright College, Myerstown, Pa.
Bowne, J. T., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
Brackett, Jeffry R., 18 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.
Brandenburg, Earl W., 147 Fourth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Branson, E. C., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
Breckinridge, Sophonisba P., 2559 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Breitenbach, Oscar C., 821 Franklin St., Columbus, Ind.
Bridge, Norman, 718 W. Adams St., Los Angeles, Cal.
Bristol, Lucius Moody, Morgantown, W.Va.
Bronk, Mitchell, 562 Congress St., Troy, N.Y.
Brooks, John Graham, 8 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
Brown, Thomas I., Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
Browne, Helen C., 823 Irving Place., Madison, Wis.
Bruce, John M., Berton, Manitoba, Canada
Brunner, Edmund De S., 216 Rose Ave., New Dorp, Staten Island, N.Y.
Bruno, Frank J., 3631 Lyndale Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 135 Glenwood Ave., Pawtucket, R.I.
Bullock, Charles E., Canton, Pa.

Burdette, Mrs. Robert J., 891 Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena, Cal.

Burgess, E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Burnett, A. H., Public Health Commissioner, 806 Neare Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio

Burns, G. Armour P., 2 W. 47th St., New York, N.Y.

Burton, Ernest R., care of Independence Bureau, 137 S. Fifth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Bushee, Frederick A., University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.

Bushnell, C. J., 1220 Sixth Ave., Grinnell, Iowa

Butterfield, Kenyon L., Amherst, Mass.

Button, Miss G. L., 218 W. Grand St., Elizabeth, N.J.

Byrne, Mary Gertrude, 1432, 8th St., New Orleans, La.

Calhoun, Arthur W., 722 Cramer Ave., Lexington, Ky.

Campbell, Walter J., Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.

Canis, Edward B., Route A-2, Box 372-A, Indianapolis, Ind.

Cape, Mrs. E. P., 1 W. 67th St., New York, N.Y.

Cape, Thomas Wilson, 307 N. Orchard St., Madison, Wis.

Capen, Edward W., 146 Sargeant St., Hartford, Conn.

Caples, Martin J., 104 Woodlawn Road, Roland Park, Baltimore Co., Md.

Carlson, Robert Clarence, Woodmere, N.Y.

Carpenter, Allan, Jamestown, N.D.

Carpenter, S. J., 8 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y.

Carroll, Mollie Ray, School of Civics and Philanthropy, 2559 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Carstens, C. C., 43 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.

Carter, James, Lincoln University, Pa.

Carter, W. S., 109 Shepherd St., Chevy Chase, Md.

Carver, Thomas N., 7 Kirkland Ave., Cambridge, Mass.

Case, Clarence M., River St., West Side, Iowa City, Iowa

Case, Francis H., Dakota Wesleyan University, Mitchell, S.D.

Case, Mills E., 109 W. 54th St., New York, N.Y.

Casis, Lilia M., University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

Cavanaugh, R. E., 1116 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.

Chaddock, Robert E., Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

Chaney, Lucian W., Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Chapin, F. Stuart, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Charbonneau, Genevieve, McElwain Lake Factory, Nashua, N.H.

Cheyney, Alice S., 259 S. 44th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Clark, F. B., College Station, Tex.

Clark, Robert Fry, Pacific University, Forest Grove, Ore.

Clow, Frederick R., Oshkosh, Wis.

Cochran, T. E., Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, N.C.

Coen, B. F., Fort Collins, Colo.

Cohn, Fletcher G., Y.M.C.A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Cole, William I., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass.

Collin, Rev. Henry P., 98 E. Chicago St., Coldwater, Mich.

Collings, Harry T., 308 S. Burrows St., State College, Pa.

Comstock, Alzada, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Conrad, F. A., 5815 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Constantius, Brother, 1225 Vermont Ave., Washington, D.C.

Conyngton, Thomas, 174 Wildwood Ave., Montclair, N.J.

Cooley, Charles H., 703 Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Coolidge, Ellen H., 92 Marlboro St., Boston, Mass.

Coray, G., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
Corbett, Virginia H., 426 Garfield St., Fort Collins, Colo.
Coulter, Charles W., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Cowper, Mrs. Mary O., 1108 Minerva Ave., Durham, N.C.
Crafer, T. W. B., 684 Durkee St., Appleton, Wis.
Craig, Wallace, University of Maine, Orono, Me.
Cromwell, Mary E., 1815, 13th St. NW, Washington, D.C.
Cross, William T., 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago, Ill.
Cummings, F. L., 1007 West Blvd., Lewistown, Mont.
Cutler, J. E., Adelbert College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
Cutler, U. Waldo, 63 Lancaster St., Worcester, Mass.
Daggy, Maynard Lee, Editor, Southern School Work, Grand Cane, La.
Dailey, Dew, 501 W. 121st St., New York, N.Y.
Dalke, Diedrich L., Rock Port, Mo.
Daniel, J. W. W., Wesleyan Female College, Macon, Ga.
Davies, G. R., University, N.D.
Davis, C. F., 320 Plum St., Fort Collins, Colo.
Davis, Edward H., P.O. Drawer 1217, Waterbury, Conn.
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**PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

VOLUME XIV

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE MISSION BOOK COMPANY
SHANGHAI

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
AMERICAN
SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
HELD AT CHICAGO, ILL.
DECEMBER 29-31, 1919

VOLUME XIV

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY

PUBLISHED FOR THE
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Published March 1920

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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A WORKING DEMOCRACY PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

FRANK W. BLACKMAR
University of Kansas

Some years ago it was customary for certain professors in the University of Berlin to speak in derision of the "American Experiment in self-Government." This was highly offensive to loyal Americans who had great faith in the wisdom of the fathers and the sure foundation of the institutions of their country. Perhaps the offense was intensified because it was an ungracious way of stating a proposition containing an unpleasant truth. And now that the world-war has brought vividly to our minds the truth that all government is experimental, it is well that we spend a little time in considering the results and probable outcome of governmental experiences in the United States.

At least the results of the war admonish us that it is time to take stock of our own social life in order to observe the quality, conditions, and possibilities of our own democracy. We should know whether it is an ideal or state of mind only, or to what extent it is a living reality. It is time to have a consensus of opinion as to the clearness of our ideals regarding the premises of democracy and its ultimate meaning, and if our ideals are correct how they may be made to conform to a democracy in fact—in other words whether the people of the United States are able to *do* democracy as well as to believe it and talk about it. If it is a reality, we should consider the machinery of its processes to determine to what extent its promises, that have been uttered with increasing vigor through the passing generations, have been fulfilled, and, moreover, if we are sufficiently general in our statements, to prophesy on the probabilities of the future.

Is there a middle ground between the autocracy of wealth or power and the behests of Bolshevism or organized labor? Is there a middle ground between a benevolent feudalism and the

rule of the proletariat? Is there a possible, sane, wholesome democracy with all the people dwelling in harmony, seeking justice for all and doing justice to all, or are our dreams and visions merely hallucinations and our ideal of universal justice a mirage to fade out into barren waste as the generations march toward it?

There certainly must be the sure foundations of a just and righteous plan of human association or the future will write failure across the "American Experiment in Self-Government." Since the nation is committed to the task of carrying liberty to the whole world it is well to realize that democracy in the United States is still in the making and to consider that democracy begins at home. It is well when we try to help others "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" that we see to it that our own ideals are workable, and that our own national life be perfected and perpetuated for time of need. The light of liberty and justice must shine at home if it is to lighten other nations of the world.

However in taking stock of progress it must be realized that the whole social world is in a state of unrest. Not a normal line of business, of politics, of philanthropy, or of education, nor an unbroken line of rational thought, is in existence. Hence one should not be pessimistic nor dogmatic in the consideration of this maelstrom of conflicting interests. Even though traditions are lost, forms and systems broken, hopes blasted, and fear dominant, these are days to lay the foundation of progress. Lessons may be learned, better conditions of life established, and larger plans of reconstruction utilized if patience, wisdom, and hope rule. Below the present unrest, confusion, and maladministration of society are the strong life-forces of national righteousness and justice. In the confusion of opinion and the conflict of ideas are the millions of the loyal majority ready to serve where the thinkers and leaders of a sane democracy shall point the way. But many false notions must be disposed of, many theories be analyzed, a definite program of democracy established, by the thinkers and workers of America. To lay a foundation of future building we must know what the people are and what they believe.

We may not wish to acknowledge it, but the majority of Americans are sentimentalists and emotionalists. To them democracy

is a tradition about which there is no question. They feel it is right, believe it, and accept it without analysis, and straightway fail to practice it. They are a liberty-loving people, but liberty is a religion not to be realized on, and freedom a shibboleth for frightening people to make them good. The cry of oppression or the curtailment of liberty by an irresponsible agitator will excite people to an emotional frenzy with no idea of seeing it through. Let anyone project upon their imagination a graphic phrase that expresses their feelings and they rally at once as if the future of the republic depended upon immediate action. How often have men gained office through a well-chosen political war cry! Men have received votes of the majority of the people through the promises of the candidate to reduce taxes when in reality to do so would be disastrous. Others have been elected on the cry of "business administration" and then, after election, have proceeded to make the game of politics the business of the hour.

A few years ago a man came very near being president by setting a great convention on fire with the phrase, "You must not crucify the people on a cross of gold," and, while he did not become president, yet through his emotionalism and sentimentality he has had more influence than some presidents. The last presidential campaign in this country was decided on pure emotionalism by people adopting the phrase, "He kept us out of war." At that time thoughtful people who studied the signs of the times knew that war was inevitable. A few months later our great nation, including millions of people, was rallying to the war cry to "make the world safe for democracy." With this rallying war cry a united nation gave her sons and poured out her money willingly and would have given her all for the great principle. And now that the war is over it is a question if the sentiment which led us on, or the phrase, will bear analysis. In saying this it is not desired to detract from the influences of emotionalism or of sentimentalism; for indeed, emotions are the motor powers of civilization and it is a question whether in democracy we shall ever do things until we shall feel them deeply and perhaps illogically.

Americans have been and are idealists regarding forms of government and social order. But idealism is a necessary premise

to a working democracy, though a government that ends in idealism is a failure. For more than one hundred and forty years the generations have been shouting, "All men are created equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." They have never felt inclined to hesitate long enough to analyze the statement, but have felt it, believed it, and accepted it. They have assumed that, if they only have liberty, God and nature would take care of the rest. They have continued to shout to the oppressed peoples of the whole world, "Liberty, equality, and opportunity," and have welcomed them indiscriminately to these shores believing that the problems of democracy would solve themselves. They have re-echoed the statement of the great-hearted patriot and American, Abraham Lincoln, that a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" was a true ideal of democracy. Now these are all grand sentiments of the highest ideals and must be accepted by everyone who heartily believes in the welfare of humanity. But the time has come when it is necessary to realize upon our ideals as an investment in practical democracy. The people at large have reached a state of mind in which they are wanting to know if these things be true, and if so why they are not carried out in actual practice, and indeed some have raised doubts as to whether there might be something defective in the premises. And some are beginning to wonder if some people are prepared for democracy, and indeed if some will ever be fit for democracy unless there should be a great mutation in the racial stock and a transformation of human spirit.

To a majority of people democracy is a mere form of government. It is voiced in the Constitution, in the choice of rulers by the people, in the right to make their own laws, to govern themselves; and when this form of government is established they call it a democracy. But in reality democracy is something more than a form of government. It is the co-operating spirit life of the people working in harmony to establish justice among all for all. It is something more than the bare fact of counting noses on election day every year or every two years. It is something more

than having your party win the election. It is the spirit and the life of the people.

As a matter of fact the American government has never been democratic in form. It is a representative republic and it is through a form of representation that democracy acts. Yet people frequently assume that a democracy can exist without a representative system, while in fact it is impossible in a great, highly complex nation like our own. In reality the representative system of government was the greatest political discovery of America, and when people try to abandon it they are trying to throw away the best invention of our political system.

Traditionally our idealism is against all forms of autocracy as diametrically opposed to democracy. There is a positive belief and a common consensus of opinion that autocracy has no place in democratic society. Our national consciousness has been solidified and intensified in this regard during the world-war. Granting that autocracy coming from a self-constituted authority, vested in a selected few, ruled from the top downward, subverting the will of the many, is incompatible with democracy coming from the bottom upward, permeating all strata of society, expressing the combined power and will of all classes regardless of tradition, birth, or previous condition of servitude, yet in practice in this country autocracy is frequently at the forefront. How often has the rule of the minority prevailed over the majority! This is frequently true, especially in politics and the business world; many people who shout for democracy will join with the few to dominate the many through autocratic processes. There are democrats in theory who are autocrats in heart. Too frequently it occurs that the democrat is nothing but an autocrat out of power.

Bolshevism is also opposed to true democracy. It is a by-product of an autocratic system of government based upon special privilege of birth and tradition. It rests upon the hypothesis that society is arranged in layers from the aristocrat to the peasant, and that the only way to effect justice is to turn society bottom side up and allow the substratum to rule the rest. As a working process it endeavors by force of revolution to destroy present

systems of government and construct a new social order based upon a free expression of the primary instincts. The position is untenable, for it is impossible for a nation or a race long to survive when ignorance and inefficiency, no matter how well intentioned they may be, assume to rule. Even if the plan succeeded for a time it would create autocratic groups which would end in multitudes of bureaucracies. The interesting experiment in Russia seems to verify these statements.

The Industrial Workers of the World in the United States are crude Bolsheviks. They are a by-product of an industrial system which has been too long indifferent to the individual who is down and out, and of an inert democracy which has been slow to care for all of its people. They have not yet gone far enough to have any real constructive program, but are in the primitive state of sabotage and bomb-throwing revolution. Their religion of protest is voiced through the incendiary propaganda of red radicalism.

It is necessary for the preservation of democracy that this class of people be cared for. They are afflicted by a serious social disease, and are subjects of custodial care as much as are the inmates of penitentiaries, homes of the feeble-minded, or hospitals for the insane. Yet while the disease is rampant it is necessary that the strong arm of the government force them into submission through imprisonment or deportation. Laws must be made to control the lawless radical element in our country. But laws alone will not avail. Through education and social work with the touch of human sympathy and constructive democracy destructive elements must be eliminated. With a realization that it is only a symptom of more serious defects a better control of social and industrial affairs will in time cure the disease. The process of prevention in democratic progress is of far greater importance than the law of attempted cure. Destructive radicalism is but the frayed edges of a tattered democracy. Loose thinking and talking of the intellectuals and stupid action of the ignorant may be improved through the evolution of a rational educational process.

Socialism seeks to organize all society on the basis of economic gain, while economic gain is only one factor among many factors

of human progress. Theoretically socialism seeks to distribute justice in the economic life, and socialists tell us that this can be accomplished in only one way: namely, by all the people owning all the industries and managing them for all. The chief difficulty of the socialists is their attempt to rule the world of human association by a formula. This is contrary to physical and human nature. Nature loves variety and there is no progress without it. The community is filled with all sorts of men and women with great diversities of views and of lives who must be necessarily fitted for great diversities of occupation. There may be a consistent principle in human nature, but there is no automatic process of human experiences. Society is a mechanism that can do things, but it is of such an imperfect nature, built up as it is on psychological forces with such great variability, that when you attempt to make it act with the precision of an ordinary machine it fails to do the work. Not all socialists are alike, but the main principle at the foundation of every socialistic system is based upon economic gain.

It is admitted by all that the economic life is the foundation upon which the superstructure of our civilization is built, but that the economic life is not the superstructure. The first layer in the foundation of a building is essential to its superstructure of beauty and use. That foundation determines how high or how broad the building, but it does not give its character, nor its use, nor its beauty. So it is in the economic foundation of human society. It determines how broad and how high may be the social building but does not determine its character or spirit. Start an argument with any socialists of any class and immediately they will get back to this foundation from which they attempt to control the structure of social life. The Marrian philosophy is founded on gross materialism, on the survival of the fittest, and that survival is based upon one element alone, bread and butter. Spiritual life and spiritual progress are left out of this materialistic mechanism. "The world is full of robbers who deprive laborers of the products of their toil," they cry, and "therefore we will make a new heaven and a new earth without robbers"; but they develop no successful plan to change the

selfish character of human beings out of whom robbers have been made.

Yes indeed, it is the spiritual life of the man in human association that makes for democracy. It is the high ideal, the spirit of neighborly kindness, the spirit of service, the spirit of co-operation, seeking even-handed justice to all men. Indeed, it is the living harmoniously and justly of men and women in a community that makes a real democracy, and no form or formula of government, no conserving mechanism of society, can ever make democracy unless the spirit of democracy dwells with it. It is the working out of the principle of justice that is the test of all social achievement, of all social betterment. Such a movement cannot be determined by the controlling idea of economic gain.

Industrial democracy is a corollary to the socialistic doctrine of economic rule by class organization. It is an expansion of the theory of organization on the basis of economic gain. Granted that it would be possible to bring it about in the most favorable light of its advocates, an industrial democracy in itself would not bring justice, righteousness, and progress of the race unless the ideals of those promoting it greatly change. To organize society on the basis of producing and distributing goods as the final aim of social organization and co-operation will leave out the main purpose of human association. Until the sources of wealth and their economic distribution are used as a means of higher ethical association, for the social welfare of all, no salutary outcome of an industrial society can be hoped for. Yet a perfected social system may determine the industrial rights and privileges of industrial and social workers.

Perhaps no other concept as a basis of social order has caused more crude thinking and selfish acting, none has been more misunderstood, than the notion of equality, and, paradoxical as it may seem, this is confused with the idea of the position of the despised individual as a humble member of the social organism. It is a wrong hypothesis to suppose that equality is essential to a working democracy, and the sooner the word can be dropped from the consideration of any constructive policy the better. Even when the defenders of equality are forced to interpret that it

means equality of opportunity, even then they are talking about something that does not exist in the human race nor in any other race of sentient beings, nor is it likely to so long as God and nature take a hand in the building of the universe.

The individual still must survive, take the initiative, and assume to be a leader, striving to be superior to others. The hereditary traits which have been handed down through generations of forbears are the potentials of his destiny. Any attempt to furnish the same or equal opportunities, or to place people in touch with the same opportunities, is met with a diversity of life and kind which leads to inequality. A real democracy cannot exist until people abandon the hypothesis of equality.

Even though social heredity should be so modified that the birth of people would give them the right to social equality it would not control the hereditary inequality founded in the diversity of brain power, mental traits, and physical characters. Even though the right to be well born be added to the category of human rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and the same system of education be given to all, the result is a diversity of power and adaptability which insure an individualism which cannot be overcome by any social process; nor is it desirable to overcome it, for in it rests any possibility of social success.

One might conceive of a community of animals in which the individual instinct of initiative is entirely absorbed in a community life, but one cannot conceive of a progressive community of human beings in which individual initiative has been destroyed. Perhaps some groups of native populations who are in the weak and degenerate stage come near to this condition, but there is no progress in such types: they are evolving downward.

No matter how high or complex our civilization the law of individual survival runs through it all as a persistent character. Social heredity may modify it and obscure it, but cannot eliminate it from the social order. Self-love was the first love and self-interest the first interest. All ideas of protection of others, all altruistic practices, are based primarily on the survival of self. It is nature's law and man is a small part of the cosmos. Even the highest ideals of democracy assume to make room for the

individual, and the arguments advanced by the closest and most arbitrary social unions insist that they exist for the development of the individual.

Nevertheless the right attitude of this individual toward social life makes democracy possible. If this individualism survives and dominates at the expense and the destruction of others, democracy is impossible. The old type of individual of red-handed nature must be transformed into a new individual seeking to develop through the administration of the common good. Such an individual realizes that he can gain ascendancy only through co-operation; that is, the law of organic evolution must be modified through the law of love. The variations that appear in social progress indicate that the individual must not survive at the expense of his fellow-beings. Yet so slight has been the change in practice that the survival of the fittest is still the dominant note of our social life. Even though we accept the theory that the fittest to survive must be made the best to survive, the practice of the principle is fitful and irregular. The hope of civilization is in taking the strong and making them stronger rather than protecting the weak; the former is the tower of strength of justice, the latter represents "the quality of mercy that is not strained."

Hence it is that leadership is of prime importance in a democracy. No democracy can exist without a sufficient number of leaders of intellectual and moral integrity. Perhaps in no other form of government is leadership so essential as in a democracy. Good leadership is more essential in a democracy than in an autocracy, because the latter is so closely organized traditionally that it will carry forward by its own momentum when a democracy might go to pieces and be re-formed. Too little attention has been given to leadership in this country. We have assumed that, because everyone has a life to lead in America, everyone is capable of leading as he chooses, and so we have gone about our business of making money and allowed people to attempt to lead who were unfitted to do so, and we have allowed democracy to assume the leveling-down process instead of leveling up. Everybody knows that leadership in education, in religion, and, in fact, in every organized group is necessary. How much more necessary it is in a

universal democracy where all classes are involved. Too frequently our public welfare has been surrendered to irresponsible leadership just as the labor organizations have too frequently surrendered to irresponsible agitators.

The world is crying for leaders everywhere—not *more* leaders but leaders of better quality—and our educators must see to it that leaders of society are prepared in our schools so far as that is possible. But in a practical democracy leadership must not develop into a mad selfish scramble for power, but must be a leadership consecrated to the high purpose of service to the public. Wherever this leadership fails a democracy fails.

If the decisive action of a governor of a state in taking charge of coal mines and calling for volunteers to relieve the suffering of men, women, and children would be followed by every officer in the United States from the president to the town constable we would feel the thrill of governmental service—the service of integrity and bravery, a service breathing justice to all. This would be evidence of a democracy that cares for all of the people regardless of the influences of organized groups or classes. But alas, the menace of the "almighty dollar" and the fear of votes have made cowards of the majority.

It is evident then that the inequalities caused by heredity make it imperative that in any group of individuals some must lead and others follow, some must survive and others perish, and that this is not incompatible with a social democracy where the co-operative man becomes the fittest to survive.

The same laws of survival apply to the organized group in its relation to other groups. While the progress of the law of love and the establishment of justice among men has been slow to manifest itself, individuals in their relation to one another may obey and practice it, but as soon as they become members of groups they follow the group. Too frequently a group organized economically, politically, or religiously, seeking its own survival, manifests all the fangs and claws of red-handed nature. It proposes to survive in its contest with other groups by destruction or domination of its enemies. An individual may be to all intents and purposes a Christian, but when he joins such a group the result

of his action is pagan. The group becomes non-ethical, and no democracy can be put into practice where communities are dominated by selfish groups struggling with each other for supremacy and destroying and trampling upon the rights of individuals.

I know a man who appears to be honest in his dealings with his neighbors and a devout member of the church, but who strikes hands with political demagogues and shysters, and develops a venal political gang. I know a man who in all of his personal dealings with his neighbors and friends is controlled by the law of social ethics, but he joined an incorporated body of citizens who were seeking to amass wealth regardless of social welfare. He became one of the predatory band combined to carry out his selfish purpose regardless of the effect on the rights of individuals and on community welfare. As an individual he is a Christian, as a member of the corporation he is a pagan dwelling with pagans and fighting a pagan's battle. It is evident that there cannot be a working democracy until the group becomes ethical in its nature, or that a great society shall be able to establish justice between one group and another.

We have not been able to project our idealism into practical life. Practically we are ruled by commercialism; theoretically we are spiritual, practically we are materialistic. A man will talk democracy, swear by the principles of Jefferson and the Constitution, talk about justice and equality to all, and then enter a combination with his fellows to put over a political scheme or commercial combination for the perpetuation of group selfishness. If he could be oriented from practice he is a Christian and a democrat, but as a part of a group he is an autocrat and a pagan. Individually and theoretically he is controlled by the law of love, but as a member of a group he is controlled by organic evolution or the survival of the fittest. As an individual he is spiritual; as a member of the group he is materialistic. Until this spiritual life can be made to permeate all activities large or small, we may not hope for a homogeneous working democracy.

The governmental care of people is a modern phase of our democracy. Prior to the Civil War the dominant theory was that the best government is the least government. To keep order was

sufficient, allowing individuals and groups to follow the law of the survival of the fittest. During the years that followed there was a slowly developed process of governmental protection of interests and groups. It was felt that opportunities should be equalized. Later came the idea of furnishing opportunities for all, and this was finally supplemented by attempts to place people in contact with opportunities to do and achieve for themselves.

But the old law of the survival of the fittest will not down. The great world-war has brought us face to face with the struggle of group with group. In its aim to establish justice between individuals the government has lost sight of the establishment of justice between groups. But this is essential to the perpetuation of democracy. The world-war has attempted to bring about a league of nations and a higher court to determine justice among non-ethical nations bent on group survival. Let us hope that it will succeed, because it is necessary to world-democracy.

In our domestic affairs the old theory of one man in relation to the mass is insufficient. The democracy of today is one of groups; each individual works with his group or class. It is through it that he maintains his rights, seeks justice, and hopes for righteousness. Until corporations and labor groups have souls, until they are inclined to be ethical in relation to other groups, there is no hope of a working democracy. If the law of survival still prevails among groups the individual will lose his liberty and his rights, and no action of government to protect him will be of avail. If great society organized in the form of government does not rise to the task of extracting the fangs and claws from corporate greed our ideal of democracy must change or be abandoned.

Organized labor seeks its own interest regardless of others in its strife with organized industry, both tainted with selfishness and barbarity. In a true democracy this problem is for the whole people. It is frequently stated that there are three parties involved in the strife, labor, capital, and the public; but this classification is erroneous, because the public includes the other two, and until they can be brought into co-operative harmonious action with a large view of justice for all, with a purpose of the common

welfare, it is idle to think that justice, the aim of all government, can be established.

Organized democracy must be larger than any party, organization, group, sect, clique, or gang. While it permits them to exist, it must have the working power to say, "Here are your limitations; stop, go no farther. You are disturbing the liberties of my people."

There can be no democracy where the public at large does not assume the settlement of all serious problems arising between any two organized groups whose contentions disturb public peace and public welfare. It is a wrong attitude for labor or capital or both to assume that it is a private business to be settled in their own way. Labor's problem is the problem of the whole people, so likewise is the problem of organized industry; nor is it to be inferred that either organization should be dissolved in order to make a democracy, but that justice should be determined by larger society. The ideal democracy which considers the individual in his relation to the mass does not exist in reality, for in complex civilization is group civilization. Yet the group adjustment must be so managed that the complaint of the man who is suffering for lack of coal on account of the quarrel of two warring factors shall be heard and answered by even-handed justice.

For more than forty years our federal government has failed to exercise its democratic duty and authority in the settlement of disputes between groups. Each organization should be held responsible for its actions; labor should be forced to incorporate and be made responsible for its deeds the same as any other corporation. The right to contract should be given it, but it should be held to its contract. Likewise, the industrial corporation should be so held. If the right to strike is conceded the right to destroy should be denied; the right of industry to organize does not carry with it the privilege of robbing.

Great society cannot exist with governments within government, each minority dictating to the majority. In the past, when attempts have been made to settle disputes by arbitration, it has been merely a struggle for survival between groups. Such disputes should be settled by an industrial court of organized democracy,

giving a "square deal" to contending parties and meting out an even-handed justice to all concerned.

And now teachers are organizing and are being invited to affiliate with labor organizations. No doubt teachers should organize for their own benefit, and should exercise their united moral support to right the wrongs of education and keep themselves from being crushed by the crude materialism of the times. But it must be remembered that teachers are the public servants, the conservators and developers of democracy. They are missionaries of justice and enlightenment. They have a highly honored place in the community. Hence to join with labor leaders and walking delegates more arbitrary than the czar is to lower their position, degrade their profession, and diminish their influence. The factors involving the life-work of teachers are largely spiritual; hence to bind themselves to organizations ruled by materialistic greed is to destroy their best influence. Their mission is to teach the children of all classes, parties, and creeds. Can they successfully bind themselves to those of one creed, and to be ruled by labor bosses whose only desire is to obtain favors for their class, irrespective of community welfare? Can democracy strike against itself without its final ruin? When the policemen of Boston struck, they were striking against themselves. On the other hand, if there was a working democracy in Boston, dealing out even-handed justice to all, would the policemen have been forced into such an untenable position?

Suppose all people who toil either of body or of brain to keep the world-civilization going should organize into one body and strike for higher wages and shorter hours, against whom would they strike, and if successful who would pay the bills? And if they surrendered themselves to autocratic bosses and arbitrary leaders it would result in the autocracy of labor leaders. Even now the politics within labor organizations is as corrupt as in any political organization, and there is a slavery of the labor masses to an autocratic leadership.

A greater menace to our republic does not exist than the failure to pay teachers of the public schools a living wage and accord them a position in the community which they deserve. Powerless to

raise their own salaries, the only alternative is for them to leave the occupation for one more remunerative. If we wish to preserve liberty and righteousness in this country the public must be willing to pay more for the service of instruction of its youth.

One of the great obstacles to a homogeneous democracy is race and class hostility. It is a strange paradox that those who cry loudest for the brotherhood of man are the strongest propagators of class hostility. In the Old World society has been arranged in classes according to birth, inheritance, and tradition. We have been trying to escape such classes in America. Nevertheless, because there is a difference in occupation here, the people are organized in groups about their occupations, and, moreover, because wealth is power, there is a gradation of power in proportion to the amount of wealth; but all of this classification is a shifting, changing kaleidoscope, actively passing through the generations. The agitators and indeed many of the scholars of this country, taught to think in terms of the Old World traditions, have treated the United States on the theory that we have classes in America similar to those in Europe. In reality this is not the case. While there are economic differences based upon the amount of wealth, and political differences based on the amount of power wielded, they proceed from individual sources. The classes we have in America are those organized about industrial process. It is a process common to all professions and occupations. This is characteristic of industrial and social organization—conditions which must belong to all well-ordered societies. So the complaints that come from irresponsible agitators and radicals are based upon a misconception of things, and those who teach hostility, when put to the test, would have hard work to draw the line between classes.

Nevertheless we do have group action, and when traced to its origin it is based upon the economic idea of equality, and the theory of economic equality reduced to its simplest terms is a theory of economic selfishness. It is a theory that if individuals have the same income they have an opportunity to possess the same power. This would be true if money or wealth were the only factors in civilization. In our advanced stage of democratic

life, in securing the good of all it is necessary to furnish opportunities for both the strong and the weak and see that through education, direction, and training the weak may be put in touch with the opportunities. Beyond this the public ceases to be responsible for individual failure.

All materialistic Socialists veil their real intentions by the holy cry of fraternity. The brotherhood of man is a great conception, but in the progress of human society justice tempered with mercy is as far as it ought to go. Anything beyond this will eventually rob the strong to save the weak. But the strong should so exercise its power that the weak shall not be oppressed, but shall be protected and given opportunities to utilize all their power and capacities for self-independence and self-support. In exercising this power the strong must be careful to do it so wisely that weaknesses may gradually be diminished.

For forty years Congress has been making immigration laws to keep the weak and defective out of this country. In every law the question of prime importance has been omitted, namely, to care properly for those who come to this country. Only those should be permanently admitted who wish to become citizens.

For centuries America has been calling the races of the world to enjoy the blessings of a free government. Among those who come are the ignorant and oppressed of every nation, saturated with superstition and materialism. They have entered a life they do not understand to struggle for survival and frequently to be exploited by predatory human animals. Such should be required to qualify as soon as possible. Special care should be given for the necessary education, social opportunities, and public interest to make them good American citizens, willing to help bear the responsibilities of government while they enjoy the blessings of a free government. Much of the dangerous radicalism of today is the result of the failure to protect and care for the stranger within our gates. A system of economic distribution should have been established to ascertain what occupation an immigrant is best fitted for, and then he should be followed until he is put in touch with his opportunity and should be protected and helped as he has need until he is industrially independent and socially established.

The problem of race hostility is a future menace to society. It is difficult to harmonize race hostility with democracy. Race aversion is a permanent human character. In the past it has been essential to human progress. But race prejudice and race hatred have no place in a democracy. To make over races with widely differentiated physical types, with a race psychology and racial social habits developed during many centuries of change, into a homogeneous, unified, self-governed society is a great task, but by careful methods of education and Americanization it may be done, in time, without destroying the social order. But today, owing largely to past neglect, it is a menace. The work of Americanization now in hand should be extended and pushed with vigor.

Sociologists from an academic standpoint have sought out generalizations of normal social life and social improvement. They have pointed out that the control of physical sources of nature must have the final end of improvement of the moral qualities of man. In this they have shared with other social sciences the promulgation of universal principles of human organization and government, and within the academic group of thinking idealists they have had much influence. But there is in practical life a wide gap between those who have set forth ideals for the improvement of civilization and the great majority of people who seek material comfort and prosperity as the final end. There is sufficient knowledge and enough well-established social and moral principles taught to redeem present society from error if they could be understood and practiced by a majority of the members of society. Wisdom is needed to fit these moral judgments into the social life and to vitalize them by constant conscientious use. There is an aloofness of the educated classes from contact with the actual practical problems of social life. They appear to the great uneducated, unthinking mass as a privileged class—not privileged in material things, not in wealth, but in spiritual things and knowledge. They are looked upon as a sort of ancient and honorable society of "highbrows." It is true that recent movements of social service by the educated classes have made some progress in bridging the chasm. Even churches that lost their hold upon the laboring classes are seeing their error and finding their mission.

Yet, in general, the church is still holding to the old tradition of caring for the elected few separated from the mass, and in universities professors have not ceased to assume the attitude that the university was created for their special benefit. Society must feel the touch, the hearty co-operation, of educated men and women. The knowledge, the moral precepts, must be disseminated until the leaven of righteousness leavens the whole mass.

Every radical, be he capitalist, business organizer, labor leader, socialist, or Bolshevik, is a propagandist. He spends more time and energy in marketing goods and ideas than in their creation. Formal education has been conspicuously deficient in this respect. It has assumed that truth once discovered would, without effort, be absorbed and used. The work of social service and community organization carried on by educated social workers is doing much to develop social consciousness among communities. If this work could be generalized and organized it would be an efficient means of practical social education. The thousands of social revivalists going up and down the earth preaching the gospel of social life and social reform need to correlate their work. There is need of the social engineer whose services will be as clearly recognized as those of the chemist or of the electrical engineer.

For years the teaching in our schools of the principles and practices of social order and life was neglected. When they have been taught, it has been in a desultory way, failing to inculcate the moral ideals and induce moral practice. We are now reaping the reward of this neglect. Vocational training, essential as it appears, has emphasized the material rather than the spiritual side of social life. The idea of gaining a living has been made more important than the idea of right living. Following the demand for practical education, the most practical phase of education has been neglected; namely, to teach people how to live together justly and harmoniously, a vital point in democracy. The demand now is for an education that will furnish skilled laborers, mechanics, artisans, and business managers. The cry for efficiency everywhere at the behest of big business has for its aim increased production of goods—a very desirable thing as a means but not as an end of life. These advocates of efficiency scarcely look beyond

commercialism to the real end of establishing justice among men, to the making of a better social order and the perfecting of moral practice. Efficiency we need in social life, but it is co-operative efficiency that looks to the ultimate good of the whole regardless of the selfish interests of individuals and organized groups.

The old college education which based its program on the moral and philosophical judgments derived from experience was a tower of strength to social order. It failed in its adaptability to the changing industrial and social order. It is unfortunate that instead of carrying its ethical standards forward into the new life it has been supplanted by the new education that has for its main purpose the teaching of individual industrial efficiency. There should be no antagonism between the two, but they should be joined in a common cause of making truth and knowledge workable in social life.

No doubt there is need of education of efficiency, but its greatest need is efficiency in social and political affairs. What avail is it if the chemist in his laboratory make discoveries to increase the welfare of humanity if these discoveries are turned to the destruction of the social life? What avail is it if scientific discovery furnish means for the improvement of man's material comfort if this is to be the final aim? Using the material foundation as a starting-point our education must lift us to a standard of individual righteousness and social justice. All knowledge, all science, all improvements for the comfort of the human animal, must be subordinated to the aims of higher spiritual existence. When we have a consciousness of agreement as to what our ideals are, and when these have been made to permeate all classes of society, and when the knowledge that we possess is disseminated and worked out in the laboratory of humanity, then will dominate a strong working democracy, based on justice against which misguided Bolshevism, the ravings of radicalism, and the power of gross materialism shall not prevail.

SUMMARY

1. The situation in America is such that it is necessary to take stock of the kind of democracy we have and suggest change in ideals and practice.

2. Americans are a sentimental and emotional people regarding liberty and democracy, and frequently feel and act without thinking. It is necessary therefore to have a controlled emotionalism.

3. Americans are idealists regarding democracy. These ideals should be re-examined and re-established in accordance with actual conditions of social order.

4. To do this requires a common consensus of opinion as to what are our ideals of government and social order.

5. The mechanism of society and government at large must be made to conform to these ideals if we would have a working democracy.

6. A number of fallacies based on false ideals should be abandoned: (a) the fallacy that democracy is merely a form of government; (b) the fallacy that democracy can exist in a highly complex nationality without the representative system; (c) the fallacy that individual and group autocracy can exist within a working democracy; (d) the fallacy that Bolshevism is a form of radical democracy and that it is anything else than a menace to the social order; (e) the fallacy that socialism is a form of developed democracy; (f) the fallacy that an industrial democracy based upon each man's share of wealth as an end of social order may be established; (g) the fallacy that equality is essential to democracy; (h) the fallacy that the individual must be eliminated or absorbed and lost in a democracy.

7. Positive theories of a progressive democracy insist that: (a) the ideal of democracy reaches beyond the idea of economic gain; (b) the exploitation of the idea of universal brotherhood without overcoming the selfishness of individuals will end in failure; (c) the elimination of class hostility and race hatred is necessary to a working democracy; (d) we should abandon the tradition that democracy is concerned only with the relation of the individual to the mass; it extends to groups; (e) the modern democracy demands an adjustment of the relationship of groups; (f) great democracy must determine justice between these groups; (g) great democracy must therefore assume control or regulation of the sources of wealth and great commercial enterprise.

8. Changes of democratic ideals and practices can be brought about only through education: (a) The thinking, educated

classes must be brought into harmony with the unthinking. (b) The idealism of democracy must leaven the materialism of commercial enterprise. (c) Education must be universal; truth and knowledge must be disseminated and used by the majority. (d) Common ideals of justice and right living must be made to permeate all classes. (e) Education should develop a transformed individualism that seeks to survive through co-operation and helpfulness of others (f) In the process of creation and distribution of wealth employers and employees must learn to co-operate in the high purpose of making better men and women, and in improvement of social relations.

9. Ideals of democracy must be worked out in the laboratory of humanity: (a) To have a working democracy it is necessary for the majority to learn to do democracy as well as to believe it, think about it, and talk about it. (b) Jealousy and envy of individual rights and privileges must give way to zeal for social responsibility. (c) There must be educated leadership in political, social, and industrial life.

DEMOCRACY AND OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM

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In the chapter of his *Recollections* which deals with the influence of Comtian ideas on his early thinking, Viscount Morley remarks that a prime characteristic of the present philosophical attitude is "the substitution of *becoming* for *being*, the relative for the absolute, dynamic movement for dogmatic immobility." This is another way of saying that modern life has become too complex for the old synthesis, and that we have not yet found a new synthesis of social facts. Preparation for such a restatement has thus far been made chiefly in those genetic studies of institutions which stop just short of general formulas. Literature is passing through a similar crisis. The older culture has lost its shell, and the tumultuous elements of the new life are not yet tamed into settled literary molds, although Whitman and Mark Twain have become classic after a fashion, and O. Henry is in line for immediate canonization.

In its extreme form the classical idea of the political state holds the state to be an entity with a separate existence more or less detached from homely human experience. Toward it the feeling is one of strangeness, even of latent hostility. When, therefore, we say that men are still imperfectly socialized we mean primarily that they are not intimately habituated to those generalized activities which lie outside the range of individual experience—governments, laws, acts of co-operation dissociated from personal feelings. The mass of men do not live in general ideas, however much they may mouth the phrases. Personal loves and hates and avarice and revenge are almost as largely the content of life as they were in the Stone Age. Only as it is related to these is the average man vitally concerned with an election or a legislative proposal. The fact that a measure is good or important may

elicit his benevolent assent, but rarely a potent reaction; principles may stir his admiration, but they leave him cold unless he can interpret them in terms of his personal concerns.

Aristotle, whose *Politics*, despite Jefferson's depreciation, is still one of the most modern of books, believed that for this reason the only sound basis for the state was a constitution fixed from of old, a constitution safeguarded against both indifference and caprice. He berated that type of democracy in which all things were regulated by popular decrees rather than by the constitution itself. In fact, he was sure that this was no true democracy at all, since the decrees of the demos relate only to particulars and are comparable to arbitrary edicts of the despot. The multitude thus becomes monarch, being no longer under the control of laws.

Twenty-three centuries after Aristotle, Sir Henry Sumner Maine made a similar indictment, and even James Madison, foremost protagonist of the infant American democracy, acknowledged this danger in the words: "Whenever there is an interest and power to do wrong, wrong will generally be done, and not less readily by a powerful and interested party than by a powerful and interested prince."¹ Madison, unlike Aristotle and Maine, would certainly not have agreed with Dr. Johnson, who however was probably only "talking for victory" when he asserted that he "would not give half a guinea to live under one form of government rather than another; it is of no moment to the happiness of the individual."

The state itself may or may not be a natural growth, but political functioning is certainly an acquired habit. About political affairs men think as they think about intellectual propositions, and the very palpable rift between modern ethics and politics is due to the fact that in politics people are supposed to act on the intellectual plane of choice, when as a matter of fact they act on the emotional plane. It is not wholly pessimism which fathers the idea that educated men are, except for better disciplined and co-ordinated feelings, hardly more competent in political action than the un-educated.

¹ Madison to Jefferson, October 17, 1788. *Documentary History of the Constitution*, V, 88.

Democratic revolt in the eighteenth century put the intellectualist conception of politics to the fore, assuming that the acceptance of certain formulas would accomplish social salvation, thereby ignoring Montesquieu's trenchant warning that the people is moved only by its passions. These pioneers accepted Plato's doctrine that man need only know the right in order to do the right. But the whole disillusioning history of political experience has shown how mistaken Plato was in leaving out of account the dynamic of passion. Disraeli, with something of the fictionist's over-coloring, goes to the other extreme in making one of his characters say that "we are not indebted to the Reason of man for any of the great achievements which are the landmarks of human action and human progress. . . . Man is only truly great when he acts from passion; never irresistible but when he appeals to the imagination. Even Mormon accounts more votaries than Bentham."¹

Tribal and patriarchal societies are rigid because they are dominated by old men. Progress is possible only through a selection of variations, and where the elders rule variations are not tolerated. Political tradition becomes an adjunct of ancestor worship, a system in which the adventurous spirit of youth with its zest for experiments implies both treason and sacrilege. Tribal wisdom is handed on from generation to generation unchanged and jealously guarded. In a gerontocracy it is therefore inevitable that structure should overmatch function, that the static elements should be paramount. The most striking feature of modern political development is that this monopoly of political wisdom by the elders has been broken. This has come about largely as an outcome of the invention of printing, which has laid political knowledge open to all on equal terms, so that youth has no longer to sit below the salt at the feast. As Faguet expresses it: "Books contain all science, equity, jurisprudence and history better, it must be confessed, than the memories of old men. One fine day the young men said, 'The old men were our books; now that we have books we have no further use for old men.' "²

¹ Coningsby, Book IV, chapter 13.

² *The Cult of Incompetence* (translated by Beatrice Barlow), p. 148.

But the spirit of adventure reaches farther than bare political philosophy. It insists on injecting into politics something of the creative imagination of poetry and art. The revolt of imaginative persons against the ugliness and sordidness of modern industrial society is in the main a creative revolt. Shelley was hardly exaggerating when he said that poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world, for a little leaven of imagination soon leavens the whole lump. An American critic has remarked that "the virtue of an industrial society is that it is always more or less sane. The virtue of all art is that it is always more or less mad. All the greater is our American need of art's tonic loveliness, and all the more difficult is it for us to recapture the inherent madness without which she cannot speak or breathe."¹

One legacy from the patriarchal age remains with us. As the jejune wisdom of the elders weighed down the spirits of the tribal youth, so does the youth of today suffer from tedious political didacticism. All the high gods of dulness seem to have chosen their altars in the temple of political didactics. To find the acme of pedagogical lethargy one turns instinctively to books and lectures whose aim is the instruction of youth in civic virtue. Study of institutions supplants study of persons, biography gives place to constitutional history, the muse of history becomes a kitchen drudge where once she was a radiant goddess; yet it is personalities that always have moved and always will move the young mind.

Herbert Spencer, in his familiar tirade against the great-man theory, pictures primitive savages seated around their camp fire recounting the feats done by past or present heroes in war or the chase, and ends with the particularly illogical complaint that "savage life furnishes little else worthy of note; and the chronicles of tribes contain scarcely anything more to be remembered." There is excellent reason why they contain little more. No history or mythology could survive except what had the driving power of dramatic personal interest to propel it forward. Human nature, and particularly youthful human nature, psychologists tell us, has not changed in kind since the earliest recorded time. Instruc-

¹ Spingarn, *Creative Criticism*, p. 119.

tion in matters civic must still be infused with the interest of dynamic personalities.

Exactly in this fact lies a danger to democracy. Men become political leaders by means of those personal qualities which command admiration and loyalty. Inasmuch as leadership is its determining factor, group action is always likely to measure up to the character of the leader. Picturesque personal qualities in a leader count for much, but to be a good fighter counts for more. The combat-instinct is inherent; and the interest that men once felt in war as war, in gladiatorial combats, in the bull fight, or that men have more lately felt in football, is passing over to the electoral contest. The combat-instinct cannot be eradicated, but it can be humanized and civilized. Fourier's fantastic plan of social organization has been forgotten and the world has unfortunately lost sight of the sound philosophy of emulation that underlay it. Where the objective of competition becomes social rather than individual, emulation is a workable substitute for cruder forms of combat.

A most persistent criticism of democracy alleges that the popular will is fickle, that popular choices are lightly made or spasmodic. Whatever validity the charge has rests on the fact that the motivation of social action is an undisciplined motivation. The range of social choices does not run high because the available objects of choice are not those which the people would prefer to select. They can only choose what they know about, and unprincipled leadership usually limits the objects of choice to those consistent with its own ends. Freud's psychology has opened up new vistas in the interpretation of individual wishes, but as yet we have only fragmentary experiments in applying his principles to the social mind. The conscious wish is often not the real wish at all; the real wish, repressed into the unconscious or subconscious, has ways of asserting itself that are generally pathological and often embarrassing. Latent powers which find no outlet in normal functioning may break out in those abortive, capricious acts of the popular will which bring discredit on the very name of democracy.

For the folk has not well learned to shape its own desires into intelligent and workable purposes. It is unskilled in critical valuation; it is slow to detect the trickery of vicious or foolish leadership. One of the tragedies of popular freedom is the wasting of worthy enthusiasm on specious or ephemeral issues which, however consonant with intellectualist conceptions, do not spring from elemental passions. The boss who ensnares popular assent to his vicious designs has had his due share of reprobation, but in the last analysis he is perhaps no more responsible for our failures in government than the tinkering faddist or the well-meaning but shallow enthusiast. Not the least of offenders in this class is the avowed vulgarizer who assumes that great principles must be brought down to the level of the masses, when as a matter of fact the people would gladly rise to great ideas if given the opportunity. An American interpreter of Freud has said,

We hear everywhere of bringing this or that good thing down to the unfortunate and the debased, and then of "adapting" it to the taste and comprehension of these same unfortunate and debased. . . . The idea is everywhere to bring the good *down*, in the false hope that this will somehow lift the masses up. But why shall anything strive upwards when all that is high is bidden descend?¹

It is one of the little ironies of our present mood that exactly those who protest most vociferously their faith in the virtues of the masses show least practical faith in the capacity of the people to assimilate the highest truths or act for the highest ends. The people are hungry for what is morally great. If there is a Pericles, they will follow him rather than Cleon. Even their passion for phrases and catchwords is pathetic proof of their yearning for great ideas. Witness also the popular deification of the only two great presidents whom the machinations of party politics have allowed to slip into office since the days of the Fathers. Two things America needs at this hour; great leaders who will stimulate and themselves embody what is best in the heart of the people, and a renovated political machinery through which such leaders may function. Walt Whitman was generally nebulous in his conception of democracy, but in a lucid moment he condensed its whole gospel into a single sentence: "Produce great persons, the rest follows."

¹ Holt, *The Freudian Wish*, pp. 149-50.

Equally persistent is the charge that the people in a democracy are inherently radical. If they have actually shown themselves so, it is because democracy since its inception has always had to stand embattled, first to establish itself and then to maintain itself. No one, in these last tragic years, has to be told that conflict breeds a biased, distorted mental attitude unfavorable to sober action. Thus far in the history of democracy the scaffolding has never been down and the streets have always been up. Nevertheless it may fairly be contended that the people are at bottom fairly conservative in temper, for, as already indicated, their fundamental concerns, those in which they function naturally and continuously, are matters of the family, property, and personal ambitions. The entrance of woman into politics ought normally to augment the conservative tendency, for with women even more than men the primary passions center about hearth and home.

An anomaly in the history of popular government in America has been the apparently illogical shifting between the principle of representation and the principle of direct political action. Our national system started, when both people and interests were few and simple, by accepting the representative plan, but now that we are numerous and our life complex, is turning back to the more primitive system. The representative plan, whatever its working advantages, withholds the mass of the people from extended and intimate participation in political life. It can no longer honestly be denied that representative government is verging toward bankruptcy, both as a political mechanism and as a mode of group self-expression; not, as Rousseau held, because it is morally wrong, but because it is no longer adequate. The unitary political state in which it grew up is itself passing over into the social state. Political democracy is concerned with the rights of individuals, with equality, with the police power. In the social state now slowly evolving the group is the unit, and the adjustment of group relations is the state's prime function. With these the narrow political state is incompetent to deal unless it play the despot's part.

Representative government as thus far developed assumes the representative to be spokesman for a geographical unit, yet no

observer of current tendencies need be reminded that interest-areas are supplanting geographical areas in social organization. A representative who is committed to a national party platform cannot possibly speak the sentiment of his district on all issues, for that sentiment will not be united on all. What must be worked out in the near future is a system by which the homogeneous interest-groups shall find adequate representation as such, irrespective of location. We shall have to remodel our political machinery on the principle of alternating group leadership. To legislative councils, whether urban, state, or national, must be sent experts who are masters of the affairs of their particular groups, and in matters relating to these groups they must become the rulers, while the rest of us, so far as concerns those matters, must take the position of the governed, just as we do in private life when we require electric service or medical service.

Nearly every man is an expert in something and as such is qualified to be an intelligent voter on that thing. On most other matters he is of the ignorant majority. There is endless complaint about the mass of ignorant voters in our political system, and the inference is that better education would correct our political abuses. But with increasing complexity and specialization there is every prospect that, despite any conceivable improvement in education, the number of ignorant voters will increase rather than diminish, since the number of things that any one man may adequately know will become relatively smaller. Here then is the basis of a new aristocracy, an aristocracy without inherent inequality and without exploitation. The word has become hopelessly besmirched by the scandal of its infamous history, but the thing itself must be the saving force of an otherwise muddled and incompetent democracy.

Two recent developments in self-government illustrate in differing degrees the beginnings and the needs of alternating leadership, the commission plan of city government and the system of direct legislation adopted from Switzerland by some of our western states. In the first the principle has already been accepted in essence and will doubtless, after due experimentation and modification, become the standard form of municipal govern-

ment. The second is as yet chiefly notable for the defects of its qualities. In Oregon, for instance, the people had at a single election to vote a ballot four and one-half square feet in size, containing the names of one hundred and seventy-six candidates, together with forty legislative proposals to be passed upon.¹ It is not surprising that voters complained about having to "vote a bed-quilt," or that the original purpose of the referendum, that it should be the "medicine of the constitution, not its daily bread," was felt to have been submerged. If its actual working is not so bad as critics predicted, the contention is nevertheless sound that direct government in order to succeed must devise a mode of expressing the popular will without resorting to the bed-quilt ballot.

Direct legislation is itself a protest against the demonstrated shortcomings of the representative system. Legislators are constantly charged with fostering special antisocial interests; whenever and wherever this is true they are able to hide behind the indefiniteness and the conflicting interpretations of the popular will because that will is incapable of unified expression. The referendum does not wholly correct this fault, for an issue submitted to popular vote is rarely sure of intelligent consideration by any large section of the people except those who are directly interested in it.

If representatives were chosen to look after the concerns of a clearly delimited, homogeneous section of the people rather than all the people of a district indiscriminately, their accountability would be more efficiently localized. When we consider how the managing bodies of great industries are constituted it is surely no utopian dream to conceive of a legislative assembly composed of members each of whom is a specialist in his field. There is a world of difference between the man who knows mining or irrigation or agriculture or education and the man who knows merely how to influence the votes by which he shall be elected.

If it be objected, as it often is, that such a system would destroy social solidarity, that it would give increased dominance to the class principle, the answer must be, frankly, that in the present stage of social evolution class society of some kind is the only

¹ Barnett, *Operation of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall in Oregon*, p. 80.

possible one. Social solidarity is still a utopian ideal; the highest that we can at present hope for is class society so well safeguarded by checks and balances that exploitation, caste control, and class conflict shall be reduced to a minimum.

Three decades ago Lester Ward's gospel of sociocracy opened up for us a new vision of the social future; but it predicated either a unitary state or a radical change in social motivation which is outside the bounds of reasonable expectation. The wild Russian experiment in group economy, on the other hand, is carrying revolt against centralized control to such limits that effective common action for the general welfare is well-nigh impossible—unless, indeed, the despotic control set up in the stress and strain of revolution be made permanent.

Here in America the system of alternating group leadership will necessitate not less but more central authority to adjust the relations of compact, militant groups than has been required for individual control. For instance, the farmers want high prices for food products with low wage costs; the labor groups demand high wage scales with low food costs. Each class believes itself right, and each is in a position, within limits, to enforce its demands, while the interests of the general community are at present in nowise adequately protected. Until human nature is radically changed there is no way given under heaven or among men whereby these conflicting interests can be adjusted except by applying to social politics the economist's revered formula of the higgling of the market.

And in the new class state there can be no claim of either superior service or superior virtue on behalf of any one group as a basis for special privilege. At this day it is amusing to read Jefferson's opinion of laborers as a class: "I consider the artificers as the panders of vice, and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned."¹ And in view of certain present developments among our rural population it is equally interesting to note his estimate of the agriculturalist:

Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God if He ever had a chosen people whose hearts He has made the peculiar deposit for substantial

¹ Jefferson to Jay, 1785, *Works*, Ford edition, IV, 88.

and genuine virtue. It is the focus in which He keeps alive that sacred fire, which would otherwise escape from the earth. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age or nation has furnished an example.¹

Social organization and action will still have to go on the assumption that all classes have their due share of virtues and of vices. All classes therefore must be given equal rights and all will require an equal degree of restraint. Nor, in our repugnance to patrician rule, need we give undue weight to the theory that the "plain people" can always be depended upon to act unselfishly, while special classes will always go wrong. There may be some sort of an average man, but there are no "common people"; there are only different kinds of individuals grouped loosely according to their several characters or passions.

There is not the slightest ground for supposing that any considerable mass of men, because they do not happen to be associated with some particularly odious business, would, if so associated, act otherwise than those now in control. In the long run the level of social action can rise no higher than the point fixed by the balancing of constituent group interests. Appearing to be guilty of a commonplace, Mill really utters a profound truth when he says:

If we ask ourselves on what causes and conditions good government in all its senses, from the humblest to the most exalted, depends, we find that the principal of them, the one which transcends all others, is the qualities of the human beings over which the government is exercised.²

And Aristotle doubtless meant much the same thing in saying: "We must establish equality in the passions rather than in the fortunes of men. And this equality can only be the fruit of education, derived from the influence of good laws."

A period of reconstruction is of necessity a period of criticism. The time is past for undiscriminating eulogy of the democratic ideal, although we may possibly find that we have still to use the old phrases in order to get a hearing for constructive criticism, for, as Voltaire says, "When one is with the wolves one must howl a little." The average citizen believes that when he has voted

¹ Notes on Virginia, *Works*, Ford edition, III, 268.

² *Representative Government*, pp. 37-38.

on election day and has given three cheers for his country and its starry flag on the Fourth of July he is entitled to devote undisturbed attention to private affairs for the rest of the year. He is a little impatient at being expected, after all, to give time and thought to the working of the political machinery and is pathetically surprised to find that it actually is not working well. Roger Ascham in a passage of his *Scholemaster*, much quoted in these days of educational campaigns, pictures the fate of such a one in words whose sense, beneath the quaint diction, is as up to date as this morning's newspaper:

And it is pitie, that commonlie, more care is had, yea and that emonges verie wise men to finde out rather a cunnyng man for their horse, than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in worde, but they do so in deede. For to the one they will gladly give a stipend of 200. Crownes by yeare, and loth to offer to the other, 200. shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven laugheth their choice to skorne, and rewardeth their liberalitie as it should; for he suffereth them to have tame and well-ordered horse, but wilde and unfortunate Children; and therefore in the ende they finde more pleasure in their horse, than conforte in their children.¹

That orderly unity, with its comfortably padded environment, which is the charm of older societies, is conspicuously absent from our political system. To the man of fastidious tastes it is a hardship to fellow with those ubiquitous shaggy radicals who, if they ever stopped to read it, have forgotten Lowell's warning that government cannot be carried on by declamation. Free discussion, however, is so essential to the life of democracy that we must tolerate even those hot gospelers and sociological adolescents who cluster thickly around the cradle of reform movements. But it is necessary as well as comforting to remember that the conservative and never the radical in the end translates reform principles into working institutions.

We may distinguish three periods in the history of reform movements, and may illustrate them by our own recent experiences in the evolution of economic readjustment. First, the soap-box era, characterized by indignation and vituperation; its typical organs are the muck-rake magazines of a decade ago. Second, the parlor era, which is characterized by that type of speculative

¹ Edited by William Aldis (Cambridge, 1904), p. 193.

thinking and platform-making which finds expression in those weeklies which are the delight of the "brittle intellectuals"; amid much over-rarefied vaticination it already tends toward construction. Third, the state-house era, which begins when legislators attempt to express from the gusty airs of reform sentiments the solid mass of statutory measures. The man of the soap-box era is never content with the outcome of the state-house era, usually feeling that his cause has been betrayed by the trimmers; but then he is rarely of the kind to be satisfied with anything, being of those who, because they take themselves too seriously, need not be taken too seriously by others. Out of the increasing integration that runs through these three periods a renovated economic system is in process of formation. As it was with the slavery question, as it is now with the liquor problem, so it will be with whatever form of economic readjustment the next decades may witness.

Summarizing but not attempting a dogmatically comprehensive estimate, we may conclude from the trend of American political democracy that there is in process a new synthesis of our socio-political life. This involves a revaluation of social forces which assigns to the elemental human passions larger scope in the field of public action. It carries a revision of ideas about social unity and the political state, by recognizing a decline in purely political functions and an increasing emphasis on group functions. The crowning merit of our democratic system is that it allows at least a fair degree of freedom in political experimentation, without which peaceful progress is impossible. While social control must be retained or even increased, it must be exercised chiefly on and through the group, without, however, interfering with the largest possible measure of group self-expression.

DISCUSSION

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Professor Weatherly's apt phrasing of social wisdom rouses the mind to response at several points. The time will allow me to mention only two of them.

He draws a contrast between action by reason and action by passion, and leaves the impression that only action by passion has power and the

highest worth. I submit the question whether this is not largely a false contrast, and whether, instead of setting action by passion over against action by reason, we ought not rather to say that both passion and action issue from ideas, and usually ideas that in the minds of their originators were more or less reasoned. Ideas determine which of our passions shall be aroused, how powerfully it shall be aroused, and in what way it shall express itself. Grant that the contrast as he drew it expresses an aspect of the truth, shall we not come nearer to expressing the whole truth if we say: All of man's conduct is instinctive, but which of all his instincts shall function at any given juncture, and how it shall function depends upon the ideas he adopts.

In an audience sitting quietly there arises a cry of "Fire!" The people have the instinct of fear and flight, and a panic ensues. It may be that in reality there is no fire. The *idea* that there is a fire suffices to produce the panic. "Ideas rule the world." It is true that passion and action affect our ideas, but it is a still greater truth that ideas furnish the prompting to both passion and action.

The savage, whose social instincts function only within the narrow confines of the tiny horde, are the same instincts as those of the citizen whose loyalty attaches to an empire on which the sun never sets, and the same as those of the cosmopolitan working for the federation of nations and the brotherhood of man. But the cosmopolitan is moved by a more developed body of ideas. Whether the men of a generation fight like savages and glory in it, or exploit their fellow-men with light-hearted diabolism, or prosecute farsighted plans of altruistic co-operation, depends mainly upon the ideas which reason has evolved and to which social prestige has given authority.

Practical men show their recognition of this principle by the zeal with which they resort to propaganda. Because of this principle the most important agencies in the system of democratic government are two which were not mentioned in the paper, namely, the school and the press. It is these that require to be most zealously purified, and strengthened, and defended by all who share in that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty. At this point both power and peril reach their greatest height. A writer in the last number of the *Atlantic Monthly* declares that the press is the agency which "all the special interests in the world are most anxious to corrupt."

It is because of this same principle, that "ideas rule the world," that freedom of discussion holds so important a place in the system of democratic government. Upon this question of freedom of discussion we have of late grown somewhat hysterical. I am informed that a prominent citizen of Massachusetts was recently hailed before the grand jury for no other reason than to inquire: "Did you or did you not quote with approval the words of Karl Liebknecht, 'The future belongs to the people'?" We seem to lack all clearness of thought with reference to the line between the freedom of speech which must be allowed and defended, and that license which must be forbidden.

It seems to me that the line to be drawn for our guidance is clear and simple. On the one hand no man has a right to advocate the violation of law, nor to express hatred with such bitterness as to incite to illegal violence. To advocate crime is like raising the arm to strike, and it is as much a part of the crime to raise the arm with criminal intent as to bring it down in the murderous blow. On the other hand there should be no other limit than that just defined upon the freedom to advocate changes in the law to be brought about by legal means. The very life of democracy and the essence of all freedom is the freedom to advocate lawmaking by legal means.

The first half of this rule is primarily in the interest of order, and the second is primarily in the interest of progress. Yet even for order the second is more important than the first. At present the radical elements in America are divided on precisely this question: Shall we put our trust in legal means for promoting what we regard as progress, or shall we resort to the general strike and violence? The essential and the certain way to prevent any extreme revolutionary violence in our country is to keep unclogged the channels of orderly progress. This requires us to cherish the constitutional freedom to advocate changes in the laws to be brought about by legal means. To silence by force those who advocate changes in the laws which those in power do not approve is to turn traitor to the very spirit of democracy, and to invite rebellion.

On the other point I must comment more briefly since my time is so nearly spent. Professor Weatherly speaks of representative government as "verging upon bankruptcy." In the next national elections we are likely to have four or five important parties in the field. Where there are numerous tickets our system of representative government may become the most ingenious arrangement ever devised for preventing the rule of the majority. With only four tickets in the field it is possible for a little over one-fourth of the voters to rule and the remainder to go unrepresented.

There are two ways in which this condition can be cured. One is to retain the present party system with some form of proportional representation. By that plan each district from which representatives are elected to state or national legislatures would be large enough to have a number of representatives instead of a single one, and these would be apportioned among the different parties according to the number of votes they cast. The other plan which, though less familiar in discussion, might prove simpler in operation, provides for the representation of interest groups instead of the representation of geographical areas. By this plan any group of voters large enough to be entitled to a representative would be allowed to elect one, or more than one, as its number warranted. Of course the names of the members of such a group would be checked on the general polling list showing that they had exercised their right of suffrage with their chosen interest group. Whatever plan we adopt, one thing is clear. We cannot allow our system of representative government to go on "verging upon bankruptcy."

DEMOCRACY AND PARTISAN POLITICS

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One who is elected to discuss the bearing of political parties on democracy should enter upon the discussion with open eyes, for both the terms "democracy" and "political parties" convey more or less elusive concepts. It would be impossible to formulate a definition of democracy which would include all the current meanings imputed to it, for these popular ideas range from that of the industrial despot who covers his autocratic and irresponsible control of business under the mantle of democracy to that of the social philosopher who conceives it from the viewpoint of the common welfare. Likewise the conception of political parties is bound to be hazy, because parties differ from nation to nation, are highly complex organizations generally and especially in the United States, and the line of distinction between parties and government here, and more particularly abroad, is ill defined.

It will be necessary to ground this discussion upon the idea of the parties of America and upon the conception of democracy shortly to be presented. The statement of democracy will reveal the ideal which social effort should strive for in its attitude respecting parties, and American political parties may serve to illustrate the bearing of parties in general on the realization of democracy.

THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

It would be interesting to attend a "movie" whose film was constructed from snapshots taken of prehistoric man and his living conditions from the era of *Pithecanthropus Erectus* to that of late Neolithic culture. Such an exhibit would impress the observer with the gradual but almost infinitely slow upward movement in the evolution of mankind mentally, physically, and socially. No less revealing would be a "movie" based on snapshots of the evolving

social system from the time of the appearances of the earliest civilization in Egypt several thousand years B.C. down to the present time. From such films we would be able to form a vivid and somewhat reliable picture of the long forward marches and retreats of humanity in its efforts to free itself from the grip of the various forms of social despotism. Such an exhibit would doubtless demonstrate that, more than any other, democracy is the goal toward which social evolution tends, the great objective of social progress, whether of the conscious or the unconscious sort.

It may appear presumptuous to offer a formulation of a conception so apparently intangible and inexpressible as is that of democracy, yet the task of discussing it makes such an undertaking desirable. I shall therefore proceed to define democracy as the right of the masses of humanity to participate in all the essential satisfactions of life and of their further right to control the social agencies by means of which those satisfactions are distributed. A completely democratic society, accordingly, would be one in which the people generally enjoyed the satisfactions considered essential to a full life and in which, from the fact that they had complete control of the agencies of distribution, there would be the assured hope of future continuation of such enjoyment.

It goes without saying that in no nation, ancient or modern, has this democratic situation been realized; and we must regretfully admit that our own nation, while in many respects it is worthy of praise, presents the spectacle of such tremendous extremes of wealth and poverty, of enlightenment and ignorance, of tolerance and bigotry, of political power and political impotence, that it finds some difficulty in demonstrating its right to the assumed title of defender of democracy.

Note that the definition of democracy does not demand absolute equality as among men, but that it does provide for free and untrammelled opportunity of all to strive and to enjoy. It assumes that the normal person, if the channels of opportunity are not clogged, will be able to participate in all the desirable fruits of civilization. Note also that the definition provides a place for the consideration of artificial mechanisms, thus giving scope for discussing those artificial structures called political parties. It assumes that

the only reason why every normal adult person lacks something of the fulness of life is that his way is blocked by some structure built originally for service. It further assumes that a fair and just society would be one in which social mechanisms of all kinds would be under the complete control of the masses and nicely adjusted to each other for the accomplishment of that purpose.

ARE PARTIES OBSTRUCTIVE OF DEMOCRACY?

To determine whether or not American political parties are obstructive or promotive of democracy there might be resort to either abstract or concrete considerations. The abstract argument can be disposed of quickly. It might be held that, because political parties are universal concomitants of modern representative governments, they are, therefore, proponents and promoters of democracy. The essence of this position is that any factor which is so much a constituent of a total system that the latter cannot be conceived without it is by that fact a constructive contributor to the system of which it is a part. Thus intelligence is an essential factor of normal human beings; space and time essential concepts in the idea of the universe; industrial, educational, and political institutions are essential attributes of modern societies.

But the ancient Church Father Chrysostom put his finger on the weak point in such arguments when he inquired: "What is woman but an enemy of friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil?" duly recognizing thereby that a thing may at the same time be a necessity and an unmitigated nuisance. As a matter of fact, essential constituents of society often become obstructive, and it is not far from the truth to say that political parties are commonly viewed as necessary evils.

Political parties are voluntary agencies created for the election and induction into office of those who will carry out through government the desires and policies of the electors. They have undoubted functions to perform, and their manner of exercising those functions demonstrates their bearing on the quality of political life and of society at large. If they promote definite expressions of public opinion on problems of government and are readily responsive to the public will, they are fit instruments of

democracy and are conducive to its development. But if they fail in either or both of these respects, they must be put in the class of necessary evils.

In the American economy, political parties perform very necessary and varied functions. They co-ordinate the various departments of government in nation, state, and often in city; perform a tremendous sum of labor in keeping the election machinery running, getting votes, getting out voters, organizing for primaries and conventions, and caring for initiatives, referendums, and recalls, where those obtain. Besides, political workers often aid in securing naturalization papers, finding employment for the jobless, obtaining charitable relief, and helping people over emergencies. But it cannot be questioned that society pays politicians and workers enough, if not extortionately, for these services, and it is certain that there are better methods of providing for the semi-political and philanthropic needs.

The dual party system appears to have become the dominant one throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, and its monopoly in the American political field is unquestioned. The eminent students from abroad who have studied the American party system during recent years have formed a rather low estimate of our political life, and their views are in accord with those of many of our foremost American scholars. It is the somewhat general opinion of such publicists that our two great parties systematically and persistently stand for neither fundamental principles nor maintain definite and consistent attitudes toward issues. Mr. Bryce concludes that if any continuous and consistent principle is to be attributed at all to the two historic parties, that of the Democratic party is decentralization and individual liberty, that of its opponents has been centralization and restriction of individual liberty by imposing order upon the masses; yet he admits that the case is not entirely clear. The truth seems to be that our parties are opportunistic and are prone to conduct campaigns on issues rather than according to well-established principles; and that even on such historic issues as the tariff their attitudes are variable and inconsistent.

In order to promote democracy, parties should be facile channels for the expression of the public will. They should make it easy

to choose the best men for office, to determine public opinion on the problems of government, and to make government responsive to the majority. In none of these directions are parties efficient; on the contrary they are obstructive. The confusion among voters attending the long ballot prevents an easy and clear choice of the best candidates for office, although the parties are not wholly responsible for the existence of the long ballot. But, generally speaking, the candidates presented to the voters by one party are not better nor worse than those of the other party; and this is true respecting both their ability and principles. Often, confronted by opposing candidates notorious for their inefficiency and lack of principle, the voter is in despair, and, feeling his helplessness to improve the system, resorts to boycotting elections.

Nor do parties provide for the expression of a clear-cut opinion of voters concerning the problems governments deal with. The party platform should furnish a definite and concise statement of the dominant issue so that voters could meet the issue squarely and intelligently. Instead, platforms are so made as to confuse and bury issues, the issues frequently being formulated so as to admit of double interpretation. The great number of issues presented makes it certain that no definite conclusion may be drawn from an election as to the attitude of the public on all or any one of the issues. It is always questionable whether, if any single plank of the platform of the party victorious in an election were alone presented to the electorate, the plank would have received a majority. Accordingly, that old saying is true that politicians employ platforms to get into office on but not to stand on when in office.

When the whole situation is so muddled, it is not likely that government can be responsible to the will of the majority. If the will of the majority cannot be determined under the party system, there is no responsibility of the party in power to the electorate. As a consequence, the governing officials construe their mandate from the voters to suit themselves; indeed they are able to discover no mandate. The officials are self-determining as to mandate, which often accounts for the slight consideration the public welfare gets from them.

With confused and impotent electors and with a litter of confused issues and a lack of guiding principles, our parties have become formalized, the result being that our American democracy labors and loiters under the vast burden of a highly perfected political mechanism. The shibboleth of party politics is regularity rather than service. The great desideratum of the politician is office, and to him who has been regular is promised the reward of office. Even the voter comes under the obsession of regularity, and loyalty to the glorious old party takes precedence over devotion to country. Accordingly the party comes to be an end in itself instead of a means to good government.

Certain symptoms and accompaniments, partly causes and partly effects, have manifested themselves during the growth of our party system: office as a reward of political activity and the "spoils system," the assessment of officeholders for the support of party workers who could not be rewarded with a political job, the rise of the political boss, the machine-made convention, the platitudinous and incoherent platform, questionable campaign contributions, the dominance of special interests who in their financial support of parties are non-partisan or bi-partisan, and frequent political corruption.

The formal and mechanical operation of the party is illustrated in the selection of a candidate for the presidency. We have, as a witness, Ostrogorsky, who sat through the long sessions of a nominating convention. The record of his impressions is illuminating. He confesses that the convention bewildered him and almost paralyzed his mental faculties; but he managed to survive it. To him the convention presented a mixture of premeditated stage-setting, of wire-pulling by political managers, of cold-blooded knifing of rival candidates by delegations, of the jockeying of interests, of lack of rational deliberation, and of the display of mob enthusiasm. "It is blind chance which has the last word," he said. "The name of the candidate for the presidency of the Republic issues from the votes of the convention like a number from a lottery." Yet he acknowledges that in a review of the list of the presidents so chosen you find that all are honorable if not great men, and explains the outcome by quoting the American saying:

"God takes care of drunkards, of little children, and of the United States."

WHY PARTIES FAIL TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY

In the eighteenth century conservative statesmen greatly feared that the strong tendency then setting in toward parties and party government would result in the overthrow of privileged classes. After some two centuries, it is evident that their apprehension was largely unfounded. The failure of parties, majority or otherwise, to unsettle classes and to establish an economic system of a decidedly radical kind is good proof that they are not strong proponents of social democracy.

In seeking to explain why majority parties act as brakes rather than as accelerators to the democratic movement, there is recourse to several reasons. Keeping in mind the United States, one reason is to be discovered in the nature of our constitutional government. The common belief is that our form of government is an effective organ of democracy and facilitates the rule of the majority. But if this were true, we would be forced, from a study of results, to one of two conclusions: either that popular government results in corruption and oligarchy or that our citizenship is utterly incompetent to realize democracy. However, neither of those alternatives need be accepted when it is remembered that our plan of government, national, state, and often city, is nicely suited to develop huge and ruthless extra-governmental political organizations. For the constitution of nation and state provides that the departments of government—legislative, executive, judicial—shall stand apart as organic structures, each self-consciously distinct and with its separate function to perform. They are obliged to co-operate, yet are not co-ordinated by any superior governmental authority. As a historic fact, these departments often refuse to co-operate, the legislative opposing the President, as in the League of Nations matter, or the judiciary setting aside legislation. While, within the national executive department, the administrative functions are unified because of the headship of the President, within state executive departments where the heads are elective and therefore independent of the governor, antagonism and conflict frequently

develop, as is the situation in North Dakota at present. These results commonly arise from the fact that no party controls all departments.

In default of a co-ordinating authority in government, extra-governmental structures have developed as necessities to secure co-operation and unity. The political party that captures all branches of government acts as the co-ordinating agent, but the misfortune is that the dominating policy and motives are such that the party rather than the nation receives the benefits.

There are those who aver that the separateness of governmental functions is the sole explanation of party corruption, boss domination, exploitation by privileged classes, lethargy of voters, and other political evils. They note the absence of responsible government under the presidential system and point to responsible party government under the cabinet system of other English-speaking nations.

This leads to the suggestion of another reason for the existence of obstructive parties, namely that, as in the case of other institutions, there is in political parties working under both presidential and cabinet systems a strong tendency to crystallize, become formal, lose responsiveness to public needs, and attain to responsiveness to the hand of privilege. It may be that the cabinet system of party government is more exempt from formalism and class control than is the presidential system but it certainly is far from being completely exempt. Evidence to substantiate this statement is not difficult to discover. In Canada at the present time there exists practically the same situation relative to parties as in this country, and the accusations made against the old parties by progressives are so similar to the ones current here that they sound familiar and quite American. In our sister-country there is a great agrarian movement on foot that is rapidly attaining controlling power in the provisional governments and bids fair to hold the balance of power in the Dominion Parliament in a short time. The speakers and writers of the Canadian farmers' movement pointedly charge that the old parties do not represent the interests of the masses, that they divide those having common interests into two hostile camps, thus crucifying them with their own swords, that they have become supine and pliant tools of the exploiting interests, and that it is a

matter of indifference which party obtains power, for the public interest will be equally disregarded. A somewhat similar agrarian movement is taking place in Australia, and in the United Kingdom the labor and co-operative forces are organizing against the old parties, which they accuse of being non-representative of the common weal and mere agencies of class interest and domination. I think it is fair to conclude that the cabinet system of government is not a preventive of party conventionalism and obstructionism, of class domination, and of camouflaging the electorate.

A third reason for the formalization of parties is to be discovered in the notorious fact that the masses of people generally exhibit lethargy in matters of common concern. There are doubtless several causes of this. Our own vocations demand the greater share of our energy and interest, leaving the minor and probably the inferior share to common affairs. The web of public problems and conditions is so vast and complicated that none but specialists can unravel and disentangle the threads so as to estimate the bearing of issues upon their lives; as a consequence, the populace is dependent on leaders of high qualifications for light and judgment. The span of human attention is limited and that of the average man is incapable of the persistent effort that is necessary to arrive at an understanding of conditions and to think things through. All of this suggests that the electorate is bound to be dependent on leadership until it is educated up to the point of self-determination. But leaders may be influenced to govern against the best interests of the electorate, and they may allow their own selfish ambitions to sacrifice the common good. As a consequence, parties become agencies of classes and privilege, or conventional devices operated for the benefit of politicians. Thus the problem of how to educate the public mind up to a competent and protective understanding of social issues and problems is perhaps the greatest problem relative to the democratization of political parties.

POLITICAL PARTY REFORM

A multiplicity of attempts have been made during the last few decades to change our political system in the direction of greater responsiveness to the public interest and will. A partial list of

such reforms, some having a national scope, others being limited to state or locality, may serve to remind us of the volume of the efforts. We observe, then, the introduction of the Australian ballot to give the voter self-determination in voting; the establishment of civil service to limit the partisan activities of officeholders and to secure competency for office; the enactment of corrupt practice acts to secure clean elections; the providing for the nomination of candidates by primary elections to obviate the evils of boss-ridden conventions; the amending of the federal Constitution so as to secure the popular choice of United States senators; the adoption of non-partisan elections in municipal affairs; the organization of municipal voters' leagues to prevent the election of "gray wolves"; the enactment of initiative and referendum laws to give electors control over legislation; the enactment of the recall to give voters control over their representatives in office; and the publication and distribution of state publicity matter in connection with the referendum to insure full information pertaining to the issues.

At one time there was much agitation in behalf of publicity and limitation of national campaign contributions, and some states have passed laws governing contributions for state elections. National party campaign funds were considerably reduced for a time, but it might seem that they have resumed former proportions, since one party is now accusing the other of having raised one hundred million dollars from the big interests to expend in the next national election.

While Mr. Roosevelt was president, in order to reduce party evils and to lessen the hold on parties of big contributors to campaign funds, he advocated that the necessary expenses of conducting national campaigns by the two dominant parties be met from the national treasury, but the recommendation never got farther than the message containing it.

That the reforms thus far wrought out in the political system have reduced some evils and secured a greater control by voters over government is unquestioned, but that the national party and governmental system has been fundamentally touched by them cannot be granted. But it is probably true that were certain of the measures, such as the recall, and the initiative and referendum,

made nation-wide for local, state, and national units, great additional gains toward popular government would accrue.

We should take cognizance of certain other suggestions looking toward political democracy. The confusion of the voters produced by the long and complicated ballot could be obviated by substituting the short ballot. This would reduce the number of elective officers and give co-ordinating authority to and place desirable responsibility upon the chief executive officer. The establishment of preferential voting in local affairs would doubtless enable the voters to exercise a more judicious selection among candidates for office, and the establishment of proportional representation for districts would secure similar results for voters in those larger units, besides providing for due representation of minor interests and factions.

There is a tendency among advanced thinkers to contemplate the organization of government according to group representation instead of according to territorial districts. Such a plan would evidently compel a new party alignment. There would be parties representing such great interests as agriculture, commerce, industry, labor, and the like, and legislatures would contain official representatives of such interests, upon the principle of proportional representation. Government then would be the resultant of the more ascendent groups, and parties would be more responsive to their constituents than now because the group interest would be apparent, the voters standing less chance of confusion from a multiplicity of issues.

It is also suggested that our conventions would undergo a reformation by recognizing this principle. Delegations to nominating conventions would then march or sit under interest banners instead of state banners, so that there might be visible the banners of steel, oil, sugar, meat, and so on, floating over respective delegations. This, it is held, would bring controlling interests into the limelight and have a beneficial limiting effect.

It is conceivable that something might be gained by universalizing non-partisan elections. To secure such elections in national affairs might be difficult, since city and state elections have not entirely been able to make them a success. Perhaps the reason for this difficulty in local matters is that a national party organiza-

tion depends on the effectiveness of all the local organizations out of which it is made, and the local units are training places of party workers for the great campaigns. However that may be, it is interesting to note that we now have an extensive non-partisan experiment taking place in state affairs, namely, that of the National Non-Partisan League. So far as I am aware, this movement is unique and deserves serious study. The league is not a political party in the usual sense, although it is a political organization. It is not a political party, as is the Democratic or Republican party, because its name does not appear on the election ballot, although it has candidates in the field. This comes from the fact that it uses existing political parties to accomplish its purpose. It pledges Democrats or Republicans who are favorable to it to carry out its policies and directs its votes to elect them. Thus, in North Dakota, it has captured all branches of the state government and enacted much legislation in behalf of farmers and the public in general. It has also taken possession of the Republican State Central Committee and issued "good Non-Partisan League literature" under the name of the Republican party.

As an organization, however, in waging warfare and in meeting attack, it has all the semblance of a political party. Its local, district, state, and national organization is maintained on the basis of solidarity unequaled by the old parties and seldom equaled in the case of other American political organizations. With its own press and publicity speakers it has been able to get to the voters and to define issues in a most effective manner. Its press has been its salvation against attack, for the press of the nation has been most unfair in representing the movement, reminding us that the control of the press is one of the most crucial items in the struggle for a greater and better democracy.

A final suggestion is to the effect that the national and state constitutions stand in need of such revision that a co-ordination and co-operation of present distributed governmental functions may be secured within the government itself, thus removing the necessity of maintaining extra-governmental agencies to effect such unity and eliminating one of the grounds for the existence of such tremendous mechanisms as our two great parties. Such a

revision would be likely to provide for making the legislative branch of government supreme over the other branches, establishing the executive department as the administrative agency through which the legislature should work, and subordinating the supreme courts to the will of the people by making the laws passed by the legislature irrevocable by such courts.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND DEMOCRACY

MATTHEW WOLL

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During the eighteen months of war our democracy arose in all its might. In the face of external dangers, all internal differences vanished. Labor, capital, business, management, and society then worked hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder for victory. It was then that our national abilities and the justification of our government were put to the supreme test. Our people and our government rose to the occasion. Never had a democracy risen to such an exalted height. Throughout it all, organized labor was everywhere conceded as being one of the greatest modern forces for the preservation and perpetuity of our democratic institutions. It was then that organized labor was hailed as the most effectual instrumentality by which a maximum productivity was attained and industrial tranquility maintained.

But what of the present!

With the signing of the armistice, industrial unrest and conflicts have developed in every land. With the echoes of war vanishing into the past, we have been hearing the rumblings of a great industrial disorder ringing in our ears. Strikes have followed strikes upon short order, and the wheels of industry have been moving with the greatest difficulty, especially where there has been an absence of a strong and constructive labor movement and where the rights of labor to organize have been denied or frowned upon.

With the signing of the armistice the co-ordination of sacrifice among the various groups and interests seems to have given way to repudiation. Each group and interest now appears eager to seize all it can for itself. Men prominent in the industrial, financial, and political affairs of our country, who had only words of praise and encouragement for labor, now fail and are unwilling to understand the present trend of economic and social development.

Despite these changes, the American organized labor movement that stood loyally and valiantly behind this great republic in its hour of stress and trial, is the same organized labor movement that now seeks to participate honorably, intelligently, and fairly in the affairs of our great democracy in its hour of victory and triumph. The American labor movement has not changed. Only those have changed who are now attacking its principles, its policies, and its practices. The labor movement expresses now, as ever heretofore, the orderly and rational progress to improve the standard of life, to uproot ignorance and foster education, to instil character and manhood, and to bring about an interdependence of modern life of man and his fellow-men.

While our land has been marked by strikes of the greatest magnitude during this period of readjustment, one cannot help being strongly impressed with the great patriotic service that the American trade-union movement has contributed during this unrestful, eventful period of our history by the peaceful adjustment of thousands upon thousands of industrial disputes through the rational process of collective bargaining. Had organized labor failed to meet to a substantial degree, at least, the higher-priced level of today instead of experiencing the ordinary evolutionary processes of readjustment, our people would have been thrown into the throes of revolutionary chaos.

One cannot reflect upon the vast changes that have taken place in such a very short period of time and observe that we have experienced a comparatively small manifestation of industrial friction and disorder in meeting these changes, without expressing admiration for the great patriotic and constructive accomplishments of organized labor through the process of peaceful and collective bargaining. A greater service could not have been contributed to our nation and its people by any other institution or agency of modern times.

Perhaps the greatest danger to labor, as well as to the government, has been met and conquered, not by the forces of government, but by labor itself. The attempt made to divert the "strike" from a final measure for economic redress to a weapon for the attainment of political domination threatened disastrous con-

sequences for a time. However busily engaged organized labor has been in meeting the onslaughts of hostile employers and profiteers it effectually met this new assailant with vim, vigor, and determination. It not only repudiated but actually destroyed this new monster, threatening the very life of our great democracy.

Attempts had been made likewise both from within and from without to change the character of the American labor movement from its economic trade-union determinism to a political parliamentarism. While recognizing the necessity for legislative redress the American labor movement has adhered to its non-partisan political program in encouraging workers to exercise their political suffrage to secure helpful legislation and promote to public office and authority aspirants who are known to be friendly and helpful to labor, regardless of their political affiliations. Labor realizes that to render ineffective or to hamper in any degree or to lessen the importance and value of trade-union economic determinism, merely to attain possession of political authority and to place in predominance political parliamentarism, would not be a gain but a loss to the advancement of the workers to a fuller, a freer, a better, and a nobler life.

Without in any way condoning the acts of those recently deported from our shores, labor views with apprehension the attempt made to stifle the spirit of unrest merely by labeling every protest as a manifestation of the red monster. Labor has wrestled with these anti-social doctrinaires. It has repudiated this doctrine of despair. It holds, however, that this menace cannot be removed by measures of repression. Labor has not been responsible for the bringing here of foreign workmen. That rests with those now clamoring loudest for their deportation. Labor accepts into the membership of its organizations all who toil for a living and through its counsels and teachings seeks to instil into their minds and hearts the doctrines of true Americanism and confidence in the democratic institutions of our land. Only in that way and by that procedure can the philosophy of despair be deprived of its fanatic adherents.

The organized workers of America realize keenly that the work we are doing today will be the basis of organization of tomorrow.

They have, therefore, builded their reconstruction program upon the foundation of the present institutions and in accord with the principles that enabled us to make progress in the past. They have not been misled by the majestic and imposing schemes and fantasies of European doctrinaires. They are less concerned in fine-spun and mystic theories than with the real matter-of-fact methods and practices of dealing with the questions of the times.

To fully and accurately understand the *modus vivendi* and *modus operanda* of the American labor movement one should carefully differentiate between the American trade-union movement and the several other schools of thought which are striving for supremacy in the solving of what has become popularly termed "the labor question," but which is more accurately defined as the hope and aspiration of the wage-earners to establish firmly the principles and practices of democracy in our industrial relations and activities.

Among the most pronounced of these doctrinaires are those who style themselves "socialists" and who hold to the opinion and belief that all instruments of production and of distribution should be owned and all our industrial activities should be controlled by the government. These good but erring persons would establish industrial democracy through the ownership by the state of all means of production and distribution including the labor and service of man. They would substitute license for liberty. Freedom of action, freedom of choice would no longer remain with the individual. State control, state domination, state dictation, would be the order of the day, and men would become mere puppets to a large and cumbersome political machine which would grind out industrial slaves instead of developing free men.

The American Federation of Labor, the only organization able to speak for the workers, is emphatically opposed to that school of thought. It is opposed to the government owning all means of production and distribution and is against the state regulating all our industrial relations and activities. It holds that to convert private and individual ownership of property and free and voluntary service into governmental ownership and compulsory

labor is not to create industrial democracy but to establish governmental bureaucracy and state slavery.

Another school of thought appealing for the support of the wage-earners is that which is termed "syndicalism," better known in our land as the I.W.W. movement. Its philosophy and ultimate goal is the establishment of a socialistic state of society. It, too, believes in the paternalistic relation of the government to the individual. It differs from socialism only in its *modus vivendi*. It ridicules the hope of the socialists to realize their ultimate aim and ideal through political as distinguished from industrial action. To the contrary, it holds that the socialists' state of society can be obtained only through the massed industrial and economic action of all wage-earners organized, regardless of craft or calling. It, therefore, purposes to organize all workers into one solid phalanx, one big union. Having control of the wage-earners of all the key industries, that is, those industries upon which the life of the nation itself depends, it then proposes by a general strike of all workers to render capital useless, destroy the resisting power of the state, and assume for itself the reins of government and of industries.

The development of bolshevism is the outgrowth of I.W.W.-ism. With the development of bolshevism the advocates of the I.W.W. type have become exponents of the doctrine of sovietism whenever and wherever they might do so with safety to their personal well-being. The I.W.W. may be said to favor the destruction of the state itself and to advocate the soviet form of government. It would substitute the factory and workshop for the legislature, congress, or parliament. Having established a soviet form of government through the organized economic and industrial power and action of the wage-earners it would immediately thereafter rob the workers of all their economic and industrial power and freedom of action and in the future confine them exclusively to a greatly restricted exercise of political action.

It is needless for me to say that the American labor movement is opposed to that vicious and revolutionary manifestation of power and authority. The success of I.W.W.-ism or bolshevism

would spell industrial tyranny of the worst kind. It would forever destroy the ideals of freedom, justice, and the pursuit of happiness so splendidly expressed by that word "democracy."

It is the firm belief and conviction of the trade-union school of thought, so ably represented in the American Federation of Labor, that the greatest rewards, happiness, and contentment will come to a people where the greatest freedom of choice, freedom of expression, and freedom of action is allowed. It is in the clash of opinions that truth is made clear. Only through the conflict of experiences can permanent progress and advancement be obtained. We hold that only where individual freedom is jeopardized and the collective good of all is threatened should the government act as the arbiter to determine what is right or wrong and promote justice and good will among all men.

We hold that the relation between employers and employees is not a subject for legislation or governmental dictation. This is a function properly and rightfully exercised by those directly concerned and interested. Employers and employees should jointly and collectively determine their relations of employment and by conference establish the standards and requirements which ought and of right should prevail. Only those immediately engaged in a particular class of manufacture or production, because of their experience and training and by reason of their direct interests and connection, are best able to judge and determine the relation which should govern and the standards and the requirements which should be observed in that particular industry or craft.

However, in giving approval to private initiative and enterprise and in disapproving theories and systems of government proposed by the socialists, syndicalists, bolshevists, and I.W.W.'s, the American wage-earners are insistent that the old order of industrial autocracy shall pass and that the new order of industrial democracy shall enter. It is unfair and radically wrong to permit the old order and relation of master and servant to continue. This relation must give way to the more humane and modern relation of co-operators. The employer cannot and must not be permitted to say to the workers in the future, as he has in the

past: "These are the standards, these are the requirements which you are to observe. If you do not like these standards, if you do not meet these requirements, then go on."

To the workers this is industrial autocracy of the same vicious order formerly exercised by the Kaiser in dealing with his subjects. This arbitrary and autocratic rule of employers must be destroyed. The ideal of democracy must be put in its place. The right of the workers to be consulted, the right of the workers to have an impelling voice in the management of business and in the determining of the relation, the standards, and the requirements of employment which should govern, must be permitted a full and free exercise. It is through collective action and by collective bargaining that the American wage-earners intend to establish industrial democracy.

The American Federation of Labor does not view with favor the many and varied proposals of profit-sharing schemes which are being urged under the term of "industrial democracy." Neither does it view representation on the board of directors as the kind of participation in industry which will aid the workers in the improvement of their conditions of employment. To the contrary, these measures are looked upon merely as subtle means to restrict and limit the economic activities and weaken the forces of labor. What the American workers conceive as industrial democracy is the freedom to associate, and by voluntary collective action express their demands and wants, present them to the employers for agreement and appeal to the general public for its encouragement and support. Thus with an equal voice and equal freedom, the workers aspire to participate in directing the business affairs of our nation and in shaping the destiny and well-being of the wage-earners in a truly democratic fashion.

The American workers' conception of democracy in industry is that labor shall have an impelling voice—not the exclusive voice—in determining the industrial laws and rules under which they will give service. They do not care to indulge in the sport of hunting and haunting the entrepreneur in industry. The American workers are not opposed to the organization of employers. Instead, the American Federation of Labor has pronounced in

its reconstruction program, that the qualities that make for leaders of industry "should be fostered and protected, instead of being hampered by improper legislation." It has declared also that taxation should rest as lightly as possible upon constructive enterprise. Still more recently it declared for the production of an adequate supply of the world's goods and to this end has urged that there be established co-operation between the scientists of industry and the representatives of organized labor. In brief, the American labor movement seeks the destruction of the relation of master and servant and to substitute therefor the relation of true co-operators in industry between employers and employees.

Misunderstood by many, and more often misrepresented, the American trade-union movement has been one of the greatest constructive and stabilizing influences in the period of readjustment.

It knows the dreams of the impracticable doctrinaire as well as the selfish desires of the exploiter and profiteer and the sickly cravings of the disappointed. It discriminates always in favor of the sober thought and the long and fixed purposes of the real working, producing Americans whose stolid determination is impregnable.

Organized labor of America cannot be made to mistake the clamor of some for the voice of the people. Neither can it be misled by the dreamer of the impracticable or be intimidated by those whose possession of wealth and temporary power has blinded them against the appeals of humanity. Organized labor of America stands firmly on the principles of freedom, justice, and democracy.

DISCUSSION

ALBION W. SMALL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Although I was scarcely out of the cradle when Fort Sumter was fired on, I was in one of the most ardently abolitionist sections of New England, and the doctrines of the time and place are etched on my memory as distinctly as many impressions of the now-ending war. Very few people in New England at the time had ever seen a black man, but they knew all about him. Children of my age were fed on the campaign oratory that pictured the southern slave as the foreordained favorite of God whom wicked southerners had trampled down so deep in their plantation soil that he couldn't rise to his own. We

got the idea that the southern slave was not only as good as a white man, but a little better, and that if slavery were only abolished, the black man would forthwith blossom out in his rightful character as the bright, consummate flower of the human family. If I had been old enough in 1861, even if I had then seen things just as I do now, I should probably have been too big a coward to have stayed out of the fight to free the slaves. I should have fought, however, with very different expectations from those cherished by my father, for example, as to what could closely follow emancipation. By this time even the majority of the sons and grandsons of the abolitionists have learned that we can't force evolution very much. A change of legal status cannot instantly compensate for the disabilities of arrested development. Whatever any race or class of men has the wherewithal to be, it must take the necessary time and pay the average price of working toward its salvation through the intermediate stages. There is no springboard from which it can cover at one leap the gap between what it is when it is delivered over to itself, and what it has the potency to become. It takes more than a generation or a century for a human type that has been aborted since creation to catch up with types that have sprung from an equal period of free fighting to realize themselves.

This American object-lesson with the black man ought to be sufficient to jar some of the fundamental foolishness out of a lot of us in the somewhat parallel situation with which the world is now struggling. I confess with shame that I am one of the few people in the world who do not think they know how the problems of democracy are to be solved. I am, however, among the perhaps still fewer who know some of the ways in which they surely will *not* be solved. My time limit will permit me to speak of only one of them, namely: We shall not solve the problems of democracy by resurrecting the old abolitionist superstition about the black man and applying it in a still ranker form to the proletarian. All my life I have been under suspicion of the class that paid my salary, because I have done my best to expose the fallacies of capitalism and the sins of capitalists. I have not changed my opinion in the slightest as to that side of the case, but circumstances have forced me to increase my attention to the labor side. I do not for a moment imagine that this wholly unequivocal record will save me from the contempt of the abolitionists of present capitalistic society, now that I am obliged to point out that the menace of the present situation is not all from the capitalists. In my opinion, in spite of the unconfessed fallacies of capitalism, and the unrepented sins of capitalists, you and I and all of us who want a just democratic reconstruction of society have less to fear at this moment from unregenerate capitalism than we have from hair-brained proletarianism.

I think it was in the first Bryan campaign, when several minor groups had presidential nominees, that the New York *Independent* asked each of the candidates to state in a few words what his platform meant. One of the socialist labor candidates replied substantially in these terms: "It is wrong for any class to legislate for another class whose interests are antagonistic.

The capitalists have been legislating for the laborers. The laborers now intend to take the power and *legislate for the capitalists.*"

A beautiful blurting out of our besetting human nature! It is wrong for you to control me, but it is right for me to control you!

Yet that is the kindling spark of the flame of proletarianism which threatens to consume civilization today. In these few minutes it would be impossible to discriminate properly between the mild and temperate type of proletarianism which we should doubtless have heard from Mr. Woll, and the destructive communism of I.W.W., compared with which abolition was passive resistance. The state of the world today is one of those crises in which the immediate problem of self-preservation is how to arrest the operation of the Gresham's law of moral circulation, that the worse ideas tend to chase out the better.

Contemporary communistic proletarianism has transfused into the sap of Marxianism the deadly strain of doctrine that all wisdom and all virtue is the monopoly of the manual worker. This communistic proletarianism, which is triturating itself into the mental food and drink of all of us, is the chimera that if we only disfranchise economically and politically everybody except the manual worker, we shall thereby not only remove all the technical hindrances to maximum economic production; we shall not only have bread and cake and all the time there is for everybody; but we shall thenceforth have no more rivalries, no jealousies, no grabs, no schemings for the swivel-chair jobs, no exploitation; but the era of never-wasting efficiency and of super-abounding brotherly love will have arrived! The only fit dog in the kennel is the under dog. The kennel will never be right till the under dog is its boss!

My contribution to the discussion is warning against this contagious communistic superstition. The only antidote, if there is an antidote, is the time-honored common sense that it takes all sorts of people to make a world. We shall never stabilize a one-class society. No more *unskilled* labor than *skilled* labor or no labor at all. The interests of despotisms and oligarchies and priestocracies and plutocracies and autocracies may have in turn their little day of dominance. It is conceivable that in spots we shall make room for the turn of laborocracy, but it is inconceivable that, in this case, any more than in the others, the law of the instability of the fractional will be repealed.

Whether we think we have any constructive democratic ideas or not, whether or not we have confidence in certain specific proposals for approaches to more genuine justice, sanity requires of each of us this, at least: We must reject, as vetoed by the nature of things, any scheme of human improvement based upon the principle of permanent domination of anybody by anybody. Dictatorship is an expedient of the past, not an ideal for the future. Every activity which tends to secure or enlarge or enrich human life in general should entitle the agent of that activity to the full franchise of his mental and moral influence in co-operative control of the whole complex of human processes. On the other hand, positively, wisdom is justified only of those legitimate children whose conception of justice is accommodation of interests by use of

reason, not violent prevalence of one interest over another. Nothing can survive in a just society which is not a factor in the reciprocally beneficial working of all the healthy interests in that society. In one respect society is like a gyroscope. It is not a single motion. It is a compounding of motions. Eliminate every imperial and grand ducal and profiteering and parasitical and slacking and sabotaging special privilege, of whatever legal or illegal standing; but salvage if possible every czar and grand duke and profiteer and parasite and slacker and sabotager, and reprocess them as contributors after their kind, and in the ratio of their ability, to the common purposes of composite society. The goal toward which enlightened men of good will are bound to aim is not a dreary vast of world-population, each unit as interchangeable with every other as two grains of Sahara sand. The only democracy worth having, the only tolerable human society, whatever we choose to call it, will be a team work between as many different types of people as functions can be found for in a harmonizing world. The most disheartening aspect that the world's wrestling for reconstruction presents today is epidemic atrophy of perception that the art of living, whether individual or social, is the art of correlating innumerable unlike functions. No matter by how many millions we multiply a single note, it will never make a Psalm of Life.

There is no more up-to-date social insight in the world today than St. Paul's kindergarten lesson that has gone begging these nearly two thousand years: "For the body is not one member but many. . . . If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? . . . And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. . . . There should be no schism in the body; but the members should have the same care one for another."

WALTER B. BODENHAFER, KANSAS UNIVERSITY

There seems to be a general impression among liberals, both in Europe and in America, that the United States has nothing further to offer in the way of leadership in democratic movements, and that we shall have to look to Europe to take up the torch. There is some evidence to sustain the pessimistic prediction that the United States is destined to become the conservative and reactionary nation of the Western world and to play, in modified form, the unhappy rôle which the Russian government played prior to the overthrow of the Romanoffs.

It has been pointed out many times by students of the labor problem that our industrial and social life has conditioned a later and somewhat different development of industrial forces in the United States than in Western Europe, and that by reason of these fundamental differences the solution of the so-called labor problem must come more slowly in the United States than in

Europe. Not the least discouraging feature in the problem before us is the fact that American society and government are fettered in the steel framework of a written constitution which faithfully reflects the absolutistic philosophy, the atomistic psychology, and the individualistic political science dominating the thought of the country at its inception. Furthermore, the keys to those fetters are in the hands of a judiciary which is created in the image of those obsolete systems of thought; and by a peculiar historical process that judiciary claims and maintains a power practically beyond the reach of popular control. Nor is public sentiment in general out of sympathy with this status of affairs or with the judiciary which interprets and defends it. Liberals are prone to underestimate the conservatism of the people; public sentiment is still pretty thoroughly prescientific. Mr. Gompers has been nearer the earth of actual life and fact in the labor world than his critics like to concede. His conservatism has been a reflection of our industrial life.

Attention is called to these points, not because they are new and unknown, but because they suggest the heroic rôle which labor must play in developing a progressive democracy in America. A new breath of life has come to labor, and labor's relation to democracy has become a strategic one. It is to labor more than to any other large body that we must look for that insistent democratic impulse which is essential for the breaking through of our incrusted conservatism. The democratic impulse toward a larger share in the things that make life worth while can come only from those who lack or feel that they lack the means to that end. The present industrial unrest is in large part an expression of a new democratic spirit in the rank and file of labor. Industrial unrest is a desirable condition and a precursor of progress, provided social technicians are able and are permitted to perform their functions of leadership in mediating such crises in the group life.

The task, then, which we lay on labor is a heavy and important one. The real contributions to democracy in the near future must come from labor leaders and industrial councils and courts rather than from political leaders and civil courts. What, then, may we expect from labor in the United States in the way of an approach to a better democracy? Several things might be suggested, but the following are some of the essentials:

1. Labor must organize all workers and win a general recognition of the sound principle that the way to industrial peace is through the group and not through the unorganized mass.
2. Labor must enlarge its idea and program so as to take in and win the support of the technically and administratively skilled. Without this army of technicians it can never do more than organize for mere trade-union warfare.
3. Labor, being thus prepared, must assume a share in the control and management of local industries where progressive employers offer such opportunity, in order to acquire and demonstrate an ability to carry on such form of industrial organization efficiently.

4. Labor must develop a political offensive so that it may by orderly and peaceful acquisition of constitutional and legislative power keep open the paths of public opinion through a free press, free speech, free assemblage, and an experimental method in social and industrial organization. It is becoming increasingly clear that this is necessary if labor is to preserve the advances it has made through cruder methods.

These are some of the essentials by means of which labor can save us from violence and contribute richly to the cause of democracy everywhere.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

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I. CONFLICT-ATTITUDES VERSUS THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

When two strong men stand face to face, each demanding the same thing, which both cannot have, there is bound to be trouble. We stand in such situation today, and the trouble is industrial unrest. Labor wants product and control; capital is determined to keep control and product. The heat and passion prevalent are indication that this unrest involves more than an opposition of economic wants and valuations. Back of conflicting demands for income and control lies a more comprehensive conflict of instinctive urges, social viewpoints, and ethical standards. The reconstruction problem is one quite as much of psychology as of politics and economics. It is for this reason—that no way out of the present conflict situation is possible except through a modification, perhaps a transformation, of attitudes and standards—that we have to make appeal to scientific psychology to indicate to us certain guideposts.

Socrates said, "Know thyself." The time has arrived for society to know itself. To know a man, you must know his motives. To know his motives, you must know his personal history, his environment, and his heredity, both organic and social. To understand a social situation or process, you must know the motives active in it or repressed by it. To know these motives, you must be cognizant of the light which behavioristic psychology throws, not only upon man's instinctive nature, but also upon conflicting social attitudes and traditional ethical norms which are the complex product of instinct and a long process of social heredity, most of which has been developing through uncounted millenniums of irrational struggle for existence. Instinctive modes of response suited to a conflict economy are not suited to the development of

tolerance, except in a servile class. Without tolerance there is no co-operation, and without co-operation there is no production. We may find, therefore, that the scientific spirit—which is always a tolerant spirit—is as necessary in industrial relations as technical science is to industrial productivity.

When we face the industrial situation squarely, we are compelled to say that while the understanding, tolerant spirit of science is very slowly filtering into it, the main feature of present-day industrial psychology is one of instinctive conflict reactions. Only under the strongest external pressure, itself often motivated quite as much by fear as by rational ideals of justice or the like, are these conflict attitudes toned down enough to permit the functioning of tolerant investigation, understanding, and co-operation.

Persons guided more by expedient sentimentality than by capacity to face facts have told us again and again that in America there are no classes. The present variant of this mythological sentiment is that all conflict and unrest in America at the present time are due to the "radicalism" of undesirable aliens. Some persons have also been fond of homiletic discourse on the absence of real conflict between the interests of labor and capital. Each of these sentiments is one of those untruths or at most half-truths which, even when honestly uttered, not only spring from the ignoring of patent fact, but tend, if taken seriously, to blind us to facts which must be frankly faced and evaluated, if we are to have a fair and rational treatment of the problems of industrial relations. The war of nations, brought on by Germany, it has been alleged, to forestall a social revolution, has precipitated over all Europe and in America a situation which has all the earmarks of a class conflict. The passions of war and of nationalism have been carried over to add fuel to the conflict of class-interest. Everywhere the conflict-psychology is in the ascendent. In a very real sense the psychology of labor and capital, ever since the Industrial Revolution, has been a psychology of conflict, but it is now intensified by hold-over war psychoses, which make it an exceedingly unpromising medium in which to think of working out any industrial reconstruction worthy of the name.

We may assume that the instinctive nature of all men is essentially the same, whatever their genealogy or their social and economic position. But instinctive character is expressed, or repressed, modified, and developed, through social relations; and social relations, as far back as human records go, have been characterized by regimentation and class structure. There have always been dominant and subservient classes, each with its own psychology, produced by the development here, the repression there, of universal human instincts. And the instincts given virtually unlimited expression in one class have been those most drastically repressed in another. Perhaps no fact of psychology is better established than that a repressed instinct will sooner or later find expression, though the heavens fall. And when that repression comes about in one class through its domination by another, the expression of balked instincts is likely at times to be dangerously explosive. As long as there are dominant and subservient classes some element of repression and of class struggle must always be potentially, if not actually, present.

Class struggle, whether well-defined or diffuse, is essentially an interference, a conflict, of attitudes toward life and demands on it. We shall perhaps do well to avoid the somewhat too great emphasis laid by some industrial psychologists on instinct, and to remember that while instincts are one fundamental factor in the situation, the problem as a whole requires analysis of motives, attitudes, and viewpoints which are in part instinctive, in part historical accretion, and in part logically rationalistic. The task of industrial reconstruction will be taken up in the dark unless we seek a basis of scientific understanding in a correct analysis of the diverse attitudes of the parties to industrial discord.

II. CAPITAL, LABOR, AND THE MASTER-AND-SERVANT ETHICS

The attitude of the capitalistic employing class, hereafter referred to simply as "capital" for brevity, is that of power, authority, command, prestige. These attitudes, together with a conservative, interested loyalty to things as they are, have been the tradition and the spirit of the dominant class in all eras. They produce and perpetuate a social organization which gives to the

ascendent social classes free expression of the instincts of leadership, acquisition, and domination. Only when modified by the fundamental instinct, fear—fear of consequences—or by sympathy (which is always in direct ratio to knowledge and propinquity) are these instincts prevented from generating lasting tyranny. Even thus limited, they form the basis upon which social evolution builds up master and servant classes and a master-and-servant ethics. All subclasses intimately related to the life and interests of the dominant class absorb its ethical norms, acquire its point of view, and gain a sort of vicarious satisfaction from its power and prestige. In this respect the bought editor, the twenty-dollar-a-week bank clerk, the traveling salesman who vehemently tells the whole smoking compartment what "we" ought to do with the damned trade unions, and the second serving-man in the butler's pantry all belong to the same family.

Happily, recent decades have witnessed an important softening and modification of the capitalist attitude. A sense of fair play and a square deal has been developing, the growth of general democratic sentiment, and the slow development of opportunity for employers to come in contact with labor representatives in collective bargaining conferences, to say nothing of the recognition that the common people of the laboring masses have saved the world for democracy, have all been factors in this modification. No one at all conversant with present-day movements in industrial management will question that there has been a marked change in the attitude and sentiment of the more progressive and enlightened employers of labor. These men, it may be noted by the way, are usually the younger men, and not infrequently the large employers of labor. The irreconcilable element which will brook no change is most likely to be found among the older men.

But giving full recognition to the existence of this liberal tendency, the general attitude of the dominant class remains essentially what it always has been. Moreover, and this is one of the most serious aspects of the present critical period, the impetuous demands of labor, threatening as they assuredly do a genuine social revolution, are undoubtedly driving capital as a whole into a forced uniformity of attitude regarded as a necessary precaution

and defense of its position. There is grave danger in this that the liberal element among employers will give way to the forces of reaction, as is nearly always the case when a group is subject to external attack.

The attitude of labor is less simple, more variable, more characterized by "abnormal" complexes. It is in part the abnormal psychology of repression. Broadly speaking, labor's attitude from time immemorial has of necessity been one of subserviency—a subserviency based on fear—softened and domesticated into a resigned contentment with bread and ball games, but an attitude always characterized also by thwarted aspiration and repressed pugnacity flaring out at every favorable opportunity in the fierce resentments and reflex violences of slave insurrections, July revolutions, and dock strikes. From Babylon to Pittsburgh, labor has suffered from balked dispositions and legitimate desires and interests brutally repressed in the name of the social order and political economy. Otherwise the struggle for freedom would have no history, democracy would be a philosophical hypothesis, there would be no labor problem, and the only reconstruction tasks would be the rebuilding of the physical equipment of Europe and the retraining of war-cripples. No individual assumes a subservient attitude unless under compulsion or from knavish cunning. There is every evidence that the workers of the Western World have done so only in part, and then from pressing material necessity, however much the virtues of order, obedience, humility, and freedom of contract may have been dwelt upon by those in control of educational processes and public sentiment.

Chronic repression does not breed breadth of character, nor is it likely to foster a delicate scrupulousness in methods of accomplishing purposes; especially when the persons or classes who set the norms of emulation do not always conspicuously exhibit these desirable qualities themselves. In his desire to better his condition, to escape from the stigma of inferiority, the worker has not always been less selfish than the capitalist. Nor has the working-class been free from the development of social distinctions and certain snobberies of its own. The skilled workers have until recently sought to improve their own condition in rather supreme indifference

to the lot of the unskilled, especially when the latter happen to be ignorant foreign immigrants or women. In this they have but followed the psychology and the ethics of their time, taking more than one leaf out of the ethical code of the dominant class. In the rough-and-tumble of conflict with a superior force they have not been very particular about methods, and they have labored under certain ancient economic and ethical fallacies, such as the lump-of-labor theory and *caveat emptor*, the first of which they might logically have derived from the classical wages-fund doctrine the latter of which they probably imported from business ethics.

Looked upon broadly, the long history of labor has been the history of the worker's attempt to make articulate the conflict forced into the precincts of his soul—the conflict of the thing he had to be with the man he wished to be, emergent upon the plain of self-respecting personality.

To this struggling man what has been the answer of capital? Briefly a metal tag, a number on the pay-roll, scientific management, homilies on the right of individual contract, and latterly the admission that labor is really entitled to a living wage.

It must be understood that we are here only sketching characteristics and attitudes in bold, sharp outlines. Modifications of detail, softening of line, the filling in of tone and values, must be taken for granted. If the sketch is true in main contour, it is not untrue to say that the attitude of capital toward the emergent masses has been one faithfully summarized in the admonition, "Thou shalt not pass."

We need not here discuss the ethics of this capitalistic-middle-class attitude. In the last analysis ethics may be a matter of taste, as may democracy. But it is important, if we wish to allay conflict and encourage co-operation, that we understand the psychology of capital as well as of labor. The thou-shalt-not-pass attitude of conservative capitalism is not more an expression of what is popularly called "greed" than of certain other fundamental urges, which are balked or impeded by the demands of labor. The more accustomed a man is to have his own way, the higher his temper when he is balked in having it. It is the same with a dominant class. The more ingrained into a class is an attitude, especially

when that attitude is grounded not only on instinctive urges but on long-standing tradition and on that self-interest to which institutional control and the dominant ethics give first place, the less willing that class will be to accept with scientific impartiality any challenge to its habits, its control of institutions, and its ethical standards; and the less able it will be to grasp the significance of such challenge. We cannot expect understanding, and that degree of sympathy necessary to understanding, between one class reared in the atmosphere of a mastership ethics and another class subject since the dawn of civilization to the necessitous hypocrisies and repressions of servant-ethics. And when what have hitherto been subservient classes begin to insist, with all the power of developing solidarity, upon demands hitherto unheard of, or at most regarded as academic, and which reveal the purpose seriously to modify the relative status of classes, we need not be surprised if the dominant class, whose ethical and institutional control is endangered, is instantly thrown into a militantly defensive attitude, and if there is an intensification of conflict-psychology in nearly all elements of the population.

III. LABOR'S TRANSFORMED ATTITUDE

This brings us to the central cause of the bitterness and the militancy of conflict-psychology in the industrial world today. Labor is demanding not only short hours and high wages, which touch the pocketbook of the employer and the public, but is demanding control, which touches pride as well as purse, and puts up to the employing class a new issue—an issue which its older leaders know not how to meet except by appeal to the "eternal verities" of classical political economy and American self-made-man ethics. And these "verities" the upstart class shows a disconcerting tendency to question. Labor, in short, is demanding a change in status; and capital understands little more of this demand than that it is dangerous to established economic conventions.

Neither the average business mind nor the average academic mind has experience or norms of reference by which it can really

sense the reality of the fact that labor can seriously expect any essential share in industrial control or any significant change of status. Both the business man and the academic man not infrequently lack, on the one hand, historical perspective and, on the other, imagination. They consequently take for necessarily permanent and universal laws and relations what are only the laws and relations of a given institutional stage. Hence also their social viewpoints and their ethics are essentially static and *a priori*. Economic, business, social, and religious ethics usually relate to a given *status quo*—an equilibrium of organization and process in which classes and institutions, if not particular individuals, have their so-called “natural,” their constituted place. Ethical norms spring out of this organization and are adapted to its perpetuation. Profoundly disturb this equilibrium, let any class question the expediency or justice of its constituted position, question, then assail, the validity of the existing institutional ethics, and you have a psychology and a social situation which the conservative, *status quo* mind cannot understand. When you cannot understand a thing you fear it. Hence fear becomes the dominant instinct in ruling-class psychology, and the natural sequent of fear—the conservative attitude—gains ascendancy.

This is precisely what has happened now. Labor has seized the most favorable opportunity it has had since the Black Death or the Thirty Years' War to demand radical changes in the sharing of product and control. At once not only do our political institutions seem endangered, but a network of vested interests—economic, psychological, and social—are attacked. A conflict of ethical valuations is set up, and from that very large number of persons who wish only to be let alone in their inherited habits and ethics the cry goes up against the muddling reformer, the labor “agitator,” the unsafe teacher, etc., in what is a more or less unconscious attempt to dodge the real issue.

No competent observer will question that the attitude and perspective of labor have undergone a rapid and most significant transformation. Labor has dropped, for the time being at least, the subject-class attitude; and the more this fact is consciously or unconsciously resented and opposed by the dominant classes, the

more surely is labor driven to a more uncompromisingly aggressive temper.

The causes of labor's transformation are not far to seek. Some of them are of long standing, some are of yesterday. Were Demos not sooner or later to lift up his head, certain things which have been done should never have been done. It would have saved a deal of present trouble if Gutenberg had been hanged before he invented type and printing. The commonwealth of Massachusetts should have imprisoned those dangerous radicals who first suggested the opening of a free public school. The settlement acts, the statute of laborers, and the laws against the formation of organizations should never have been repealed. Communication, assembly, political democracy, and the ideal of freedom should never have been recognized other than as privilege for the few. Once these things got a foothold it was a foregone conclusion that the people would sooner or later begin to take the democratic idea seriously and to demand modification or abolition of conditions and statutes which they regard as incompatible with it.

But what of the more immediate causes? Well, 7,000,000 young men have been killed, and as many more were seriously wounded. It was a high price to pay for democracy. It made a serious inroad on the labor supply. The remaining workers became conscious of their importance. Everybody aided them to acquire a new sense of indispensability. Army officials and employment managers fought for their services. Again and again the worker was told that his work and his sacrifice were as necessary and as patriotic service as that of the men in khaki. Industrial establishments enticed men away from one another, producing a disastrously high labor turnover, which the government finally sought to reduce by administrative orders equivalent to the statute of laborers, and the public incontinently condemned the worker for doing just what employers had always told him to do—"Get out of here if you don't like our wages!" Naturally he took advantage of the law of supply and demand. He saw others doing it. He heard of munitions profiteers, he saw the income-tax

returns; perhaps he heard of the \$60,000 executive bonus which the president of a well-known shipyard demanded of the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the name of patriotic incentive to build ships fast. Then, too, money cost of living was mounting faster than money wages. The worker can hardly be expected tractably to accept a falling standard of living when all other classes except salaried men and women are cutting loose in luxurious expenditure.

All of these causes, however, would have been far less influential in the absence of the fundamental fact that the war and the cessation of immigration produced an unprecedented scarcity of labor. That scarcity afforded opportunity for the democratic ideal to emerge out of the world's economic and psychological shake-up, and stimulated labor to throw off the master-and-servant ethics, the threat to modification of which arouses so much fear and perturbation of spirit and engenders so much crowd-psychology.

What the results of labor's change of attitude will be it is too early to predict. If labor repudiates the master-and-servant ethics and capital does not, society is brought to an *impasse*. If the conflict-psychology is too deeply ingrained in the workers and the master-and-servant ethics too much a part of the soul of the employing class, peaceful, orderly, and rational progress toward industrial democracy and a square deal is impossible. If, on the other hand, the progressive wing of capital gains ground and there results a real modification of dominant class ethics and psychology, then the way to compromise and co-operative evolution is open.

The public's part in the case will depend upon the sources of its inspiration, the fulness and accuracy of its information, and upon its ability and willingness to grasp the fact that the real conflict now reaching a climax is the conflict between the master-and-servant ethics and the ethics of democracy. Is the American public really democratic in sentiment and insight, or is it not? Upon the answer to this question depends the course of industrial reconstruction—and of the nation's future. But before we attempt an answer, we shall have to agree upon a definition of what fundamental democracy is.

IV. THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF DEMOCRACY

Let us first note a few things that democracy is not. Democracy is not mere politeness, though common courtesy is not without its value. If the worker comes into the office with a complaint and is told, as he not infrequently is, to "get to hell out of here," he is not likely to develop that good will which must certainly be one element in democracy. Nor is democracy *noblesse oblige*, an ideal which functions only in a society dominated by a master-and-servant ethics. Nor again is democracy the right of self-making men, worshiping their makers, to trample on one another climbing up the ladder of dollar success. Finally, democracy is not merely political organization and equal voting. Nor is it majority, still less minority, rule. A minority rule is sure to be the camouflaged domination of special privilege. Majority rule may be frankly tyrannous. Should the workers be driven into a consolidated labor party they could obtain a clear majority in nearly every state, if, as seems probable, a large proportion of the farmers should join them. A majority in this country can legally and lawfully amend the Constitution or abolish it. The forbearance of a clear labor majority would depend somewhat upon whether the workers had acquired the spirit of real democracy from the classes hitherto in control.

What then is democracy? Democracy is a spirit, an attitude, an insight, a viewpoint, and an ethic. All ethics is at bottom a calculus of ends and means. The fundamental meaning of democracy must be ethical, not political. Thus understood, democracy holds (1) that every individual is an end in himself; (2) that no individual is to be regarded primarily as a means to the fulfilment of the purposes or desires of any other individual; (3) that no class or group of individuals is to be regarded primarily as a means to the interests of another class as end; (4) that opportunity, and, so far as opportunity is dependent upon them, material wealth and income, should be distributed to individuals in proportion to capacity and willingness to use them for the collective good; (5) that the collective good will be highest when opportunity, which at best is limited in quantity and quality, is distributed so that each individual is enabled to develop his

potential powers and capacities in like proportion to the development of these potentialities in every other individual; (6) that the means to the utilization of individual capacity and the development of individual happiness can be found only in the willing, fair-minded co-operative work of individuals and groups, all of whom accept and live up to the foregoing principles; and (7) that to secure the operation of these principles all forms and devices of autocracy, and of the master-and-servant ethics, whether in the family, in national political life, in international relations, or in industry, must give way to government by the people as a whole. Democracy, in other words, is the real recognition of each individual as an end, and an economy in which human powers and capacities for achievement, service, and happiness are symmetrically developed wherever found, without deference to race, sex, language, birth, or nationality. As a philosophy of means democracy is equity of opportunity and the co-operative use of human and natural resources to a worthy life for individuals.

Applying these fundamental conceptions of democracy to industrial relations, we have another way of depicting the attitudinal conflict. The worker is bent on regarding himself as an end. Sympathy and logic cause him to regard all workers as ends. The capitalist-employer—and some who are neither capitalists nor employers—regard the worker as only a means, and have little other interest in or conception of him. We find this attitude undergoing some modification under the stimulus of democratic suggestion and the honest desire to find a working basis for the industrial peace and good will necessary to productive efficiency. But we see little indication, just at present, that as a whole the employing class and its affiliates have enough moral perception of the ethics and the economy of equity of opportunity that they are willing to suffer any appreciable diminution of the vested interests which have developed in a régime of antagonistic co-operation and master-and-servant ethics.

V. THE PUBLIC

Left to themselves capital and labor will settle their issues by force, either actual force or the massed strength of organization. It is quite possible that the way out of the present dilemma will

lie through the avenue indicated by the Garton Foundation Memorandum and the Whitley Committee reports—that is, through collective bargaining and co-operative management in industry universally organized into employers' associations and trade or industrial unions. But it is commonly said that there are three parties to every industrial dispute or arrangement. The third party is that somewhat elusive and illusive thing we call the public. The public is demanding the rôle of arbitrator. Its success in this rôle will depend on its knowledge, its sympathy, and its disinterestedness. It will depend specifically upon whether it understands the ethics and the meaning of labor's transformed attitude.

Unfortunately there are certain outstanding characteristics of the economies and the psychology of the public which compel us not to expect from it too much in the way of sympathetic, tolerant, rational understanding of the industrial situation. The public is not a separate entity. It consists of people affiliated more or less directly either with capital or with labor. It is composed preponderantly of emotional and dogmatic minds. It speaks and feels in no higher tone of detached judicial impartiality. It has its own special interests—the desire of the consumer for bargains. It has to eat, and travel, and be comfortably warm. Ordinarily it does not stop to ask whether it pays for its food and coal, etc., what those commodities really cost. A large part of the public does not know how the other half lives, and for the most part it does not much care, so long as the supply of goods and services continues to flow in smoothly. If any group disturbs that flow, from however great provocation, the public grows petulant. Moreover, even were it devoid of special interests of its own, it is still a creature of ignorance and half-knowledge. It has no superior access to the facts upon which alone can fair verdicts and constructive programs be based. As to the essential facts of the industrial situation a very large part of the public is as ignorant as it is, for instance, of the real state of affairs in Russia. A considerable portion of it does not want the facts, and most of it is at the mercy of the press.

Most of the recognized press, which through its selection and editing of news is the one greatest determiner of public sentiment,

makes little or no effort to state either the facts which would help us to an understanding of labor's attitude and actions, or which are favorable to labor's side of the case. You will have to thumb over many newspapers before you find one which makes any visible effort to state in a calm and fair way the facts as to the psychological motives and the social conditions which lie back of labor's demands. Much of the press, there is abundant circumstantial evidence to state, deliberately suppresses or falsifies facts favorable to labor's case—a habit which is matched by a like attitude on the part of the more radical labor press toward capital. As a result, the public tends to an ignorant partisanship. What part of the public has, for instance, adequate information on the relation of rising commodity prices to labor's demands, or knows or cares what money wage is now necessary to maintain the worker and his family in "health and reasonable comfort"? At a time when the clearest, deepest duty devolves upon every fair-intentioned citizen to secure and understand the facts, and when the world's sacrifice for democracy should have engendered tolerance and sympathy, some of our representatives in Congress and many of our newspaper editors are exhibiting the kind of temperament which characterizes the lowest type of mob-mind behavior. The public is being hurried and harried by overstimulated emotions, by adroitly managed special interests and propaganda, through fear and social affiliation, to take sides. The judge is party to the case, and the verdict is rendered before the evidence is in.

It is perhaps not unscientific to suggest that successful democracy, honest government, industrial peace and efficiency are not to be based upon such stuff, whether it be found under the red banner of Bolshevism or in the pages of metropolitan dailies and the *National Civic Federation Review*.

Now, to repeat, is the American public really democratic or not? From the frequency with which we hear the worker condemned for desiring collective bargaining, a voice in industrial control, and a living wage, there is room for skepticism. The master-and-servant ethics is accepted by a very large part of the public who are not themselves employers. How often, for instance, when speculating on the possibility of abolishing poverty, have

you been confronted with the poser, "But who would do the dirty work?" Is it possible that, after all, much talk of democracy is mere sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, and that the subsidized consumer's unexpressed attitude, if expressed, would be "Thank God for the poor"? Yet that there is a virile self-respect and democracy in the public may be confidently asserted. What political demagogue, for instance, would today dare go before the people with "a full dinner pail" for campaign slogan?

The way out of the present chaos of conflict can be only in democracy—in substitution in our national psychology of the democratic ethics for the master-and-servant ethics, in knowledge of actual industrial conditions, in the upbuilding of an honest and uncontrolled press, in a spirit of ethical and representative democracy on the part of employers, who will say to labor, "This is an age of organization and square deal: we recognize you as human ends as well as industrial means, we recognize whatever organization you elect to perfect for the safeguarding of your own ends; choose your representatives where you will and we will choose ours, and let us get together in a co-operative spirit for the good of the industry and of the whole public, which is all of us." Should the present combative attitude be maintained it would seem that there can be but one of two results—the ruthless crushing of all organized labor, or the crushing of capital and the overturning of our whole economic system by a social revolution.

There must be some change in public sentiment, less hollow talk about democracy, and more real spirit of a square deal. Have we in America enough of the soul of democracy in us, to welcome, even at some monetary cost, the emergent man of the masses? Or shall we too say to him, "Thou shalt not pass"? The future holds the answer.

DISCUSSION

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I wish, before entering upon any extended comment upon certain of the ideas presented by the speaker who has just addressed this body, to express my admiration for the scholarly treatment of the subject which is embodied in the paper under discussion. The author of the paper has forestalled a

certain amount of otherwise valid criticism by saying expressly that he was giving only bold and sharp outlines and that modifications of detail, softening of line, and the filling in of tone and values must be taken for granted. What I wish to do now is mainly to point out specifically some of the modifications I conceive to be necessary.

The scientific spirit is undoubtedly a source of tolerance in the relationships of industry, but it must make itself effective principally in cultivating other sources of tolerance, namely, an increasing valuation of toleration as an ideal and a growth of mutual understanding and sympathy. We are in danger of forgetting that the scientific spirit, like any other product of mental discipline, has only a limited transferability from one subject-matter to another. Men who are scientific about some things are quite as unscientific about other things. Witness the intolerant attitude of many men of the medical profession toward osteopathy. We speak in derogatory terms of the spirit of the "newly rich"; there is such a thing as the "newly scientific" attitude which is intolerant of everything which is conceived at the moment to be unscientific.

When an individual has attained to a scientific spirit in each of several subject-matters, he is then in position to notice the spirit itself and to erect it into an ideal of general applicability. Few persons, comparatively speaking, ever reach this point. We must hope that a scientific attitude toward the particular subject-matters in dispute between capital and labor may become diffused among those minds which are most in need of it.

Something in like vein may appropriately be said in regard to the substitution of democratic ethics for master-and-servant ethics. There is a democratic ethics among the members of the master-class in their relationships with one another; the same may be said of the members of the subservient classes as to their own interrelationships. The extremist members of the subservient classes look upon the employer as only a temporarily necessary means to be dispensed with as soon as a substitute means can be found. But nowhere are the members of either class likely to formulate and either avow or reject what we call the master-and-servant ethics as a system. The phrase connotes a group of related ideas which is consciously unified and systematized for the most part only by academic minds. These ideas are modifiable independently of one another in most minds, and what we call substitution is accomplished through irregular and piecemeal modifications under the pressure of compelling circumstances.

This truth will appear the more clearly if we reflect that a certain amount of regimentation is necessary in any co-operative system of living together. In so far as members of society have interrelated functions to perform, they cannot escape regarding themselves as means to certain ends. Democratic ethics must therefore have a strongly functional aspect. If our system of division of labor and roundabout production is to run smoothly and efficiently, there must be such things as authority, discipline, and self-subordination. The ideal of democracy is to order conditions in such fashion that this necessary

self-subordination shall be voluntary, but we have no assurance that the ideal can ever be fully achieved. At the very best, therefore, the master-and-servant ethics must be replaced by a leader-and-follower ethics. This can come about only through a reorientation of the ethical elements, a substitution of the social point of view for the selfish individualistic point of view.

When we consider persons as means, we naturally bring duty into the foreground of thought. When we think of the same persons as ends in themselves, then their rights occupy the foreground. Democratic ethics must consider every human being in both aspects and treat all individuals as nearly as practicable with equal firmness in respect to duties and with equal deference in respect to rights.

The transformation of a master-and-servant ethics into a democratically functional ethics will be expedited by the present tendency toward an increase of face-to-face association between capital and labor. It is to be hoped that this kind of association will take place, not merely in shop committee meetings and conferences for collective bargaining, but also around the director's table of every corporation of sufficient importance to justify the resort to the representative principle. Such association should result in better mutual understanding and sympathy. The immediate result of this in turn would be a growth of that tolerant spirit which is so necessary for co-operation in production.

In the discussions incident to such face-to-face association there would result what Freud would call a catharsis for the repressed instincts and desires of all subordinate classes in the industrial organization. One of the reasons why the demands of labor are so insistent at the present time is because labor regards the repression of its wants as due to the arbitrary will of the employing class rather than to a genuine shortage in the production of economic goods. Labor has an exaggerated idea of the profits received by employers. It professedly regards the strike as aimed at these profits rather than at the purse of the public. The coal miners did not come out overtly with a demand that their wages be increased at the expense of the rest of the people. Any designs they had on the purses of the general public found a convenient disguise in the claim that their demands ought to be met from the "enormous" profits of the operators. Such demands must be repressed at least in part, and in order that the process of catharsis may be effective it is desirable that employees be acquainted through their representatives with adequate information as to the profits of the particular establishments for which they work.

In one establishment noted in a recent report the first result of the organization of a shop committee was an avalanche of requests for higher wages. When the employees learned through their representatives that the competitive position of their employer would not allow such advances, they withdrew their demands, "at least temporarily," to quote the words of the report. The author of the report seemed to regard this instance as illustrating one of the discouraging features of the committee system. It is, on the contrary,

an illustration of one of the principal uses of such a system. It provided a catharsis for a lot of suppressed wishes. Economic repression cannot be avoided entirely, but it is tyranny in the absence of economic representation and full acquaintance with all the pertinent facts.

Of course the system would work both ways. In like measure, as unreasonable demands became eliminated, all reasonable demands would be reinforced. The net result would probably be the diversion of a considerable share of both profits and control into the hands of labor. Perhaps something like this was what the author of the paper under discussion had in mind when he said that possibly the way out of the present situation might be found through the avenue indicated by the Garton Foundation memorandum and the Whitley Committee reports.

It is quite possible, of course, to make too much of the idea of repressed instincts. Both the afferent and the efferent parts of an instinctive disposition are modifiable, and excitement which might otherwise be repressed is either not aroused or discharges itself through some related channel. We are familiar with the swearing of the sailor in this respect.

As to the capacity to face facts which do not agree with an excited impulse, this is a matter in which a much higher ideal needs to be developed throughout our whole social life and not merely in regard to the industrial struggle. I hope the time may come when the whole strength of the religious impulses of human nature may be made available to support the practice of such an ideal. I hope the time may come when these impulses may be scientifically controlled, but of course that time is not yet. As the religion of Jesus comes gradually to replace current Christianity, such a result may be expected. Jesus expressed the principle by describing a temptation wherein he, being hungry, was tempted to "command" certain loaflike stones that they become bread. To bring the religious impulse to support the capacity to face anti-impulsive facts would be like the labor of Hercules in changing the course of a river and using it to clean the Augean Stables.

I feel compelled to question the statement in the paper just read that "no individual assumes a subservient attitude unless under compulsion or from knavish cunning." Individuals often assume at least a self-subordinating attitude from love, hero-worship, or other forms of loyalty. In this fact lies an important psychological resource for democracy. Equality does not exist in the natural capacities of men, and equality of authority in any complex organization of human beings is out of the question. It is possible that the author of the paper makes a distinction between self-subordination and a subservient attitude and would accept this criticism as making clearer his own meaning.

I question also whether anger should not be mentioned along with fear as being "the dominant instinct in ruling class psychology." You do not necessarily "fear what you do not understand." You may merely become angry.

In connection with the statement that labor has dropped the subject-class

attitude, I recall a statement attributed to a darky in Washington that the Civil War made the colored people free and the world-war made them independent.

I think it is quite possible that we exaggerate the degree of deadlock which now exists between labor and capital in consequence of the conflict-attitudes which have arisen as a result of the transformed attitude of labor. It is true that President Wilson's recent industrial conference in Washington was broken up by the refusal of the employer group to yield on the question of a resolution confirmatory of the right of labor to bargain collectively; but the majority in the capitalist group itself which insisted upon its own view was a majority of only one or two. I agree with Professor Wolfe in not looking for the liberal element among the employers to give way to the forces of reaction. They have too strong an economic sanction for their attitude. I look for a gradually growing amount of face-to-face association between representatives of capital and labor, a growing mutual understanding and sympathy, and the gradual diversion into the hands of labor of a considerable share in profits and management. The progress may not be regular or uniform. There may even be a few isolated cases of reaction, but on the whole there seems to be reason to expect the necessary compromises to be made without a crushing of organized labor on the one hand or a dictatorship by labor on the other.

DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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The statement of my theme seems to imply that we have such a common understanding of what is involved in the terms "democracy" and "community" that we can discuss their common problem. Doubtless in a general way this is true, yet it is to be hoped that as a result of this symposium we may have a clearer concept of the nature of democracy. Having ceased to think of democracy in purely political terms, are we not calling for democracy in all of the relations of life without any well-defined notion of just what we desire? I confess to having been guilty of the current loose usage of the word, and it is necessary for me to try to define it more clearly before I can satisfactorily indicate how democracy may be affected by community organization.

Fortunately this has been a relatively easy task, thanks to the thoughtful discussion of Dr. L. H. Bailey in his essay *What Is Democracy?*² After showing that the most of the conditions commonly considered as the essentials of democracy, such as liberty, freedom, equality, representative government, etc., do not express its real nature, he concludes that democracy rests upon the opportunity and responsibility of each member of society for advancing the common good.

Democracy is primarily a sentiment—a sentiment of personality. It is the expression of the feeling that every person, whatever his birth or occupation, shall develop the ability and have the opportunity to take part. Its motive is individualism on the one hand and voluntary public service on the other—the welfare and development of the individual and of all individuals [p. 36].

If the person is to be placed in the most advantageous conditions and environment, so will he desire a similar privilege for his neighbor and voluntarily assume the responsibility of which I speak. The yielding of advantage

² Comstock Publishing Company, Ithaca, N.Y., 1918.

to another, the giving up of granted "rights" that another may have a larger life, are in the very essence of the democratic state [p. 37].

Responsibility, not freedom, is the key in democracy—responsibility for one's self, for the good of the neighbor, for the welfare of the Demos. Until every citizen feels this responsibility as an inescapable personal obligation, there is no complete democracy [p. 39].

I find the root of democracy in spiritual religion rather than in political freedom or organized industrial efficiency. Democracy is a spiritual power or product of a people [p. 42].

Not only in politics, but in industry, in education, in religion, in short in every sphere of human association we are demanding the largest attainable democracy. If this be true, then we must agree with Bailey that democracy is one of the ideals of the soul of a people. Democracy is a social ideal of those who desire that each shall have opportunity for the fullest enjoyment of the satisfactions and responsibilities of the common life, and who believe that the participation of all is necessary for the most satisfactory direction of human progress. As religion is the quest for God, and science is the quest for truth, so democracy is the quest for brotherhood; and herein is a trinity of social attitudes each but a phase of one deep human desire for reality.

Likewise the word *community* is on everyone's lips, and there is undoubtedly a popular enthusiasm for the community idea, but it has many connotations, and almost no one uses it as an exact term descriptive of a definite unit of social life. The present common significance of the term *community* has come into usage within the past decade. At first it seems to have been synonymous with the word neighborhood and there is still much confusion with it.¹ The invention of the social center, doubtless a direct outgrowth of the neighborhood center of the social settlement, became known as a community center whether it served a whole city or was one of several social centers in a city. With the attempt to establish community centers, so called, the question naturally arose, "Just what is a community?" As far as cities are concerned I have

¹ So keen a student as Miss Follett, uses them interchangeably. (M. P. Follett, *The New State: Group Organisation the Solution of Popular Government*. New York: Longmans, 1918.)

seen no satisfactory answer to this question and I incline to the opinion that there is none. Certainly the large metropolitan city is no more a community than is a county or a state; it is a mere aggregation of people living together under a city government. Within a large city there may be rather well-defined communities, particularly where former suburbs retain their identity, e.g., Hyde Park in Chicago; but these tend to disappear, and in the heart of the metropolis all attempts to locate natural community areas fail. This arises from the fact that the community is a natural social division of rural life where, on account of its physical basis, life aggregates itself into numerous small local units, whereas the life of the city is dominated by the industrial process which brings together huge aggregates of humanity with little or nothing in common and held together by selective associations arising from the most frequent contacts and the strongest common interests, usually having little relation to definite areas.¹

Thus we must look to rural life for our knowledge of the typical community, and it is to a sincere and original student of rural life that we are indebted for the first systematic attempt to give objective reality to the rural community. I refer to the paper by Professor C. J. Galpin on "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community,"² in which he shows how the typical agricultural community surrounds a village or town center and how its approximate boundaries may be located. At the annual meeting of this society in 1917 "a few persons interested in rural sociology held an informal conference" and appointed a committee on standardization of

¹ Even though natural communities may not occur in large cities, it may be possible to create more or less artificial units such as the Neighborhood Associations and Community Councils of New York City, the Mohawk-Brighton Social Unit of Cincinnati, and the community-center organizations of various cities. One of the most immediate problems of urban social organization is whether or not such social units determined by locality are essential, and if so, how they should be related to government and the social and economic life of the city. A study of those social habits which have arisen during the ages in which most of the human race has been living in rural communities, and a study of these social mechanisms of ancient and medieval cities which have produced social strength or brought about social disorganization, will be of importance in any effort to devise a better form of urban organization.

² *Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin No. 34*, Madison, Wis., 1915. Also *Rural Life*, chapter iv. New York: Century Co., 1918.

research. The report of this committee,¹ of which Professor Galpin was the chairman, recommends "that the term community, when construed in a technical sense with reference to farm populations, be employed to designate the population group which is formed by a village or small city, together with all the farm families making the village or city their regular business center." Galpin's community may be known as the "trade area" or "economic" community, and though it is by all means the most common type in the United States, yet the community is by no means any more necessarily controlled by economic than by political interest; the trade area may be as artificial a unit as the township. Particularly in the older parts of the country there are many communities whose center is determined by the common interest in church, school, and lodge located at the old village center, where only a single indifferent store may still exist, and from which the business has departed to the railroad-station store several miles distant; yet no student of social life would hold that the community life here centers around the one or two stores at the railroad station or that there is any reason why it should do so in the future.

This difficulty is met by the definition of a community given by Dr. Robert E. Hieronymus,² community adviser of the University of Illinois, who says, "A community consists of a group or company of people living fairly closely together in a more or less compact, contiguous territory, who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life." If we recognize that "the chief concerns of life" in which the people of a community are "coming to act together," may be social as well as economic or political, and may determine the place of the community center as the focal point of the common interests, we may then locate the surrounding community area by Galpin's system of mapping.

Briefly stated, the community is the smallest geographical unit of organized association of the chief human activities. Although the family is the smallest and primary group of human association, it exists independent of place; and although the neighborhood is

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIV (November, 1917), 303-10.

² R. E. Hieronymus, in *Balancing Country Life*, p. 60. New York: Association Press, 1917.

the smallest association group of families with regard to place, it has no organization of activities, i.e., considering the neighborhood as a mere cluster or group of dwellings of families but with no organized institutions, or only a single center of interest, such as a school or a church. The institutions and culture of a people are a product of its communities rather than of its families or neighborhoods. Indeed, the community may well be considered as the primary unit for sociology, for in the community first appear the sociological problems which arise from the necessity of harmonizing the conflicting interests of various groups and of conflicting institutions to the end that the fullest and most harmonious life of all the members of the community may prevail.

It is not possible in the time available to give any adequate analysis of the nature and origin of the community. We should, however, recognize that it is a fundamental unit of human association, which has arisen wherever and whenever men have abandoned a nomadic life and have come to reside in definite localities. Professor Cooley in his chapter on "Primary Groups" says:

The most important spheres of this intimate association and cooperation—though by no means the only ones—are the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. These are practically universal, belonging to all times and all stages of development, and are accordingly a chief basis of what is universal in human nature and human ideals.¹

Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg in their paper on *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, say:

Little communities of this kind form the effective social unit in the lowest economic stages. They are in a measure self-dependent. They own a definite area of land. They join, more or less effectively as the case may be, in repulsing the assaults of any other group; and again, in varying degrees of energy and community of feeling, they will protect their numbers against others. They may have a chief or council, formal or informal, of the older men. They may have little or no formal government. But in the main they are self-dependent, owing no allegiance to any one beyond their limits. Yet they do stand in social relations to neighboring groups.²

¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, p. 24.

² L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 47. Published by the London School of Economics and Political Science. London: Chapman and Hall, 1915.

They then go on to describe how these communities aggregate into tribes.

Prince Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid* has given a vivid picture of the historic struggle of the village community against feudalism, the medieval city, and the modern state, and how its spirit and customs have still a large place in modern Europe. In all times and places, inasmuch as it has been the primary unit in which people have enjoyed common life, the community in fighting for its own rights and autonomy has been preserving the spirit of democracy.

Though the community has existed since the dawn of civilization, though it has had a very definite form of behavior, and though the community has clearly recognized its own identity and behavior, yet its consciousness has been chiefly on the perceptual plane; it has had no concept of itself. It is but now coming into self-consciousness. If we consider the history of the psychology of the individual, it is evident that not until some concepts of social psychology were developed and the sociological method was somewhat appreciated, could it be possible for the community to attain to self-understanding, or for the community as a whole to direct intelligently its own activities. Through the use of sociological methods the community comes into self-consciousness. As psychology gives self-conscious man a better understanding and control of the influence of animal inheritance and of the subconscious in his life, so sociology will be able to assist the community toward self-conscious life through the scientific study of the history of the community and its processes of behavior.

With such a concept of the nature of the community, what do we mean by the phrase "community organization"? Formerly the life of the simpler communities was a unit in religion, government, and social life. But in modern times a multiplicity of institutions and voluntary associations have sprung up and have spread from one community to another. In many cases this has resulted in the constituency of such organizations being more loyal to them than to the community; organizations have become self-centered and divisive rather than being devoted to the community good. Frequently several organizations or agencies undertake to do the same or similar work, or the demands of one clash with those of

another, and social confusion arises. With the growing appreciation of our social control of the community, we are coming to recognize that our increasingly complex social life can be made to function intelligently, effectively, and economically only through its better organization, involving specialization and division of labor among organizations and institutions and their better integration through a common recognition that their primary obligation is to the greatest good of the whole community. A very good example of this tendency toward integration is seen in the spread of the "War Chests" during the war, and the present tendency to convert them into "Peace Chests," "Community Chests," or "Community Funds" for the adequate support of the various community-welfare agencies and to insure a consideration of their needs by chosen representatives of the community. This has often been largely brought about by the domination of the local community by national organizations, parties, and denominations which have forced themselves on many communities, and sometimes with such obvious duplication of effort and lack of devotion to the community good that the community has reacted in self-defense. Community organization now being so ardently advocated by national organizations must ultimately result in forcing a greater democracy in their own control and direction.

As I conceive it, community organization is that integration of the social forces of a community which will insure its unified action in the chief concerns of its life and will make possible a progressive realization and attainment of its highest values. This will doubtless ultimately require some adequate mechanism through which the will of the community may be expressed, but the essential thing in community organization is to secure a sense of devotion to the community good—a community consciousness. The mechanism of community organization will vary widely according to the social situation of the locality, and any uniform or standard method to be used in all parts of this great country is obviously impossible; but the goal of unifying the social forces so that the community can direct its own progress may be reached through different approaches, and through comparison of experiments under similar and different conditions, a fairly reliable technique of

community organization will gradually be evolved. A community center or community building, a community club or association, may or may not be desirable, but they are not essential to community organization. Community organization does not necessarily mean that all members of the community shall associate in one group—for human nature has not yet reached that stage of democracy—but it does mean that all groups work together for the common good of the community.

The mechanisms of community organization are still too new for us to form any safe judgment as to their relative worth, but whatever their form it is essential that there be some sort of a central community agency (the ancient council of the elders?) which is representative of all interests, has the confidence and support of all elements, and which can direct the thinking, ascertain the purposes, and carry out the will of the community.

Through community organization all the social forces of the community may be utilized to maximum advantage. This means that the service of each may be best related to that of the whole, and that a maximum of leadership is developed. Indeed, community organization may be considered as consisting in the conscious direction of community purposes through a leadership which is increasingly specialized and divided among all its members, so that all are functionally integrated in the life of the community. This principle seems essential to the attainment of the highest human values.

Community organization, therefore, is the most essential method of creating democracy. Heretofore we have tried to organize life chiefly through government and law, and our concepts of democracy have been largely political. But with the growing understanding that much of the life of society exists independent of the state, and with the increasing power of voluntary and co-operative associations, we now attempt to integrate the activities of all these forces in the community upon a voluntary basis, so as to utilize the ability of all for the common good. The emphasis is changed from that of justice—the objective of the state and the law—to that of the common service and enjoyment of all through voluntary co-operation, i.e., democracy.

This relation of community organization has been most keenly analyzed by Miss Follett in *The New State*:

Democracy is not worked out at polling booths; it is the bringing forth of a genuine collective will, one to which every single being must contribute the whole of his complex life, as one which every single being must express the whole at one point. Thus the essence of democracy is creating. The technique of democracy is group organization [p. 7].

The deeper truth, perhaps the deepest, is that the *will to will the common will* is the core, the germinating center of that large, still larger, ever larger life which we are coming to call true democracy [p. 49].

Like Bailey she finds the basis of democracy in the growing responsibility of the individual:

The history of democracy has been the history of the steady growth towards individualism. The hope of democracy rests on the individual. It is all one whether we say that democracy is the development of the social consciousness, or that democracy is the development of individualism; until we have become in some degree socially conscious we shall not realize the value of the individual [p. 162].

In further agreement with him she relates democracy to religion:

Conscious evolution is the key to that larger view of democracy which we are embracing today. The key? Every man sharing in the creative process is democracy; that is our politics and our religion. People are always inquiring about their relation to God. God is the moving force of the world, the ever-continuing creating when men are the co-creators. . . . Man and God are correlates of that mighty movement which is Humanity self-creating. God is the perpetual Call to our self-fulfilling. We, by sharing in the life-process which binds all together in an active, working unity, are all the time sharing in the making of the universe. This thought calls forth everything heroic that is in us; every power of which we are capable must be gathered to this glorious destiny. This is the True Democracy [p. 104].

That community organization is a necessary basis of democracy we have overlooked in our dealing with the larger national problems of recent decades. Yet American democracy was born in the New England town meeting, and democracy will die whenever the local unit ceases to be truly self-directing. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the community is the common school of democracy; for the community is the smallest unit of society in which the relations of democracy arise and only in it can the masses of mankind have personal experience of democracy. Unless the individual

has a social consciousness of the community he can have no realization of the larger social groups. Unless the community through its component individuals is self-conscious, it cannot take its rightful place in the larger community of which it may form a part. If democracy does not obtain in the local community, the voice of such a community in the affairs of the county or state will be that of its self-chosen leaders. It is difficult to conceive how democracy can be secured in state or nation where it does not obtain in their constituent communities. It is entirely possible to have a government democratic in form and theory, but actually a political or economic feudalism, supported by local chieftains who represent not the people, but themselves or some business interests. The very life of democracy is in the local group.

One of the dangers of centralization of government is in its effect on the local community. Just as active participation in the affairs of the larger community increases the consciousness of the local community, so its isolation results in the larger control of social habit and a lack of consciousness. With the integration of the larger community (county, city, or state) it assumes certain functions formerly exercised exclusively by the local community, and a centralization results which conduces to greater efficiency in the whole, but which means decided loss to the life of the local community if it ceases to function in a conscious capacity. Thus the state administration of health or education may seem more efficient, but if it eliminates responsibility from the local community it is fatal to democracy. Such a local community has lost the normal social relationships of its life, and their place has been taken by a mechanism which may more efficiently accomplish certain immediate ends, but which has no social meaning to the individuals of the local community. State standardization and supervision are by no means incompatible with local autonomy, and only through their satisfactory adjustment will the larger democracy prevail.

Furthermore it is through the outreaching of the local community to other communities, so that together they may achieve their common ends, that the larger social consciousness and the larger democracy arise. As Miss Follett says:

Every group once become conscious of itself instantly seeks other groups with which to unite to form a larger whole. Alone it cannot be effective. As individual progress depends upon the degree of interpenetration, so group progress depends upon the interpenetration of group and group. . . . The reason we want neighborhood organization is not to keep people within their neighborhoods but to get them out. The movement for neighborhood organization is a deliberate effort to get people to identify themselves actually, not sentimentally, with a larger and larger collective unit than the neighborhood [p. 249].

As democracy has proved an unquenchable desire of human nature throughout the ages, and as community organization is essential to its largest realization, let us give the whole subject of the identity and nature of the community and the processes of its behavior the most searching investigation. Let us approach the opportunity of community organization with all zeal and enthusiasm, but with a truly pragmatic attitude, realizing our poverty of knowledge and experience, reverent toward the responsibility involved in advancing or retarding a movement of such tremendous significance to humanity, and encouraging the fullest co-operation of all forces and agencies in bringing the local community into larger life.

DISCUSSION

GRAHAM TAYLOR

The problem of doing what we are talking about should help us test our terms, define the relationship of the things they stand for, and challenge the practicability of our ideals and methods. Although community organization, or reorganization, was never more of an imperative necessity to the order, well-being, and progress of society, as well as to the functioning of the body politic, yet it was never so complicated a problem.

The complication is due to rapid and radical changes wrought or consummated by the world-war, and the shifts of emphasis and the liberation of conflicting forces consequent thereupon. Chief among these tendencies to be reckoned with are the accentuation of group interests and the assertion of control by the industrial group.

Like a wind across the threshing-floor this world-wide experience is separating things essential from the artificial, the elemental from the overlying. Scarcely any local community is or can hope long to be unaffected by the interests and forces which are disintegrating and reintegrating the life of all peoples.

Where political bonds have been suddenly dissolved, as well as where party ties only have been loosed, this reversion to primary types of interests and association has been most significant. It has taken essentially the same direction everywhere. When the artificially and forcibly imposed imperial autocracy of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns dissolved, their peoples instinctively fell back upon their racial and economic community of interests as the basis and bond of association. When released from the war pressure which welded together as never before both the British people and the American people by the instinct of national and economic self-preservation, they also instinctively reverted to an industrial type of reorganization for the protection and promotion of their group interests.

Thus livelihood became not only as sacred as life, but more so. The standard of living inspired a passion as all-possessing as that of patriotism or religion. For the hope of raising their own standard of living or that of their families in the future, men are willing to risk all, not counting their lives dear unto themselves. To the test of this achievement governments, laws, parties, institutions, local community organization, and even personal relationships are challenged to submit.

It is surely superficial to attribute or characterize this new sense of the sanctity of livelihood and the standard of living as a mere "Russianizing" propaganda or as a merely sordid motive for economic gain. Its roots run deeper and broader than either or both. Nothing less than self-respect and reverence for the human race prompts the world-wide protest against unemployment and demand for the right to work, at whatever cost to the body politic or the local community. Nothing less social or religiously spiritual than filial love for parents and parental love for children prompts the claim for a fairer sharing of the product of the common toil to make possible a normal family life, safeguarding the restfulness of old age, a healthful maternity and birthright. And no self-respecting community or nation can afford for its own sake to ignore or deny such claims on behalf of any constituent individual or class hitherto existing below the level of a normal life.

Therefore the assertion by the economic group, including both agricultural and industrial interests, that it has a right to share and shape the functioning of the body politic in realizing its aim and end as the commonwealth should be regarded and guided as a claim that includes the interests of all other groups and assures the progressive welfare of the whole body politic.

When this claim is not so regarded by any ruling class, increasing masses of the people, if suppressed or discouraged in gaining redress through political and parliamentary or judicial procedure, feel driven by the counsel of despair to take direct action, resulting in the defiance of law, the possible overthrow of government, and the abrogation of democracy.

However remote or imminent these motives and aspirations may be here or there, they are everywhere the undercurrents beneath, if not disturbing elements on the surface, with which sooner or later every community, rural or

municipal, agricultural, mining, commercial, or industrial, must reckon. No definition or forecast of community organization and democracy will stand the test of the present and the future without reckoning very definitely and specifically with this reassertion of group interests, with its programs of concrete demands and fundamental changes that stop not short of reconstructing the social order itself.

The very term democracy is still more academic than popular. Notwithstanding the prominence given it as a war slogan to rally the alliance of the people against autocracy, the people themselves translate it by the terms of their own personal and group interests. No longer are they aroused, as were the French revolutionists, by the abstract terms, "liberty, equality, fraternity"; no longer are they satisfied to assert their inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," in the formal phrase of the American Declaration of Independence; no longer are they content with the exercise, much less with the denial, of free speech, a free press, and free assemblage; but now the average man declares for democracy in claiming to be a free man, to be on an equality with every other man, not only before the law, but before economic opportunity and industrial access to natural resources, and through public control to share the utility of natural monopolies. This interpretation of democracy is swiftly and widely coming to be the very soul of democratic freedom, of which political and parliamentary procedure is only a means to this end, an expression of this aim.

Community organization must also reckon, for a long while at least, with groups more than with individuals as its constituent units, for the realignment, correlation, and the co-operation of which it must work. Racial ties to ancestral heritage and old fatherlands are to be considered as taproots and tree trunks of the family of nations, upon which may be grafted and brought to flower and fruitage the finest American patriotism and self-sacrificing loyalty to American liberty, such as the sons of allied nations and especially of peoples struggling for their liberties so nobly manifested in rallying to the American colors.

Community of craft, commercial, neighborhood, recreative, social, idealistic, and religious interests constitute the very essence of community organization, which can neither function nor exist without a conscious group participation of all these interests, moved as much, if not more, to protect and promote their own advantage as to conserve and advance the less tangible and more illusive interest of the community as a whole.

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As there has been no opportunity to consider the leading paper in this discussion, the following remarks are directed to the main topic.

There are two approaches to the subject: first, the influence of the democratic movement on community organization; and second, the relation of

existing community organization to the advance of democracy. Other discussions on this program will probably bring out how the democratic movement has modified political institutions; how economic institutions are being gradually brought under its influence; how educational institutions are being changed to train socialized members of the state instead of extremely individualistic personal-success materialists; how health institutions are rapidly becoming socialized so that the fee-taking private physician is giving way to the salaried public-health official; how conventions which once permitted predatory and corrupt activities under the guise of business necessity are now giving way to newer ideals which give more credit for wise wealth distribution than great wealth accumulation; how even the family is undergoing changes, some of which present serious problems of social control; and how social and religious organizations are gradually yielding to the ideal.

In the discussion of the effect of community organization upon the spread of the ideal of democracy it is necessary to remember that in the last analysis a "community" is made up of those having a single group interest. Different interests involve different groups of people and consequently the popular conception of a "community" is inaccurate and can be used only in the sense of being that group of human beings that have a reasonably large number of interests fairly common to all. In some ways practically every human being is today a member of a world-community as well as of all the intervening sizes and types of groupings down to the simple family organization. These various community connections influence one another so that reactions in the family are influenced by the relationships in state and international life. The movement toward democracy is not influenced alone by local community connections but by the necessities of struggle for personal or group survival occasioned by the larger contacts.

Community organization at any given time represents the community's best judgment as to the best means of conserving group interests. This judgment may be incorrect as conditions may change, so that a different type of organization may be better adapted. Consequently community organization as related to the advancement of the democratic ideal is likely to be a deterring or delaying influence rather than the opposite. One or two illustrations may help to make this point clear.

In local community organization the spirit which makes men and women ambitious to get into exclusive and consequently distinguished groups is still strong. The village has its Sorosis or Century club of women made up of the "Upper Ten." In the city it is the "Four Hundred." Men are just as willing to have their Athletic club or similar organization. When these clubs once come into existence they act in two ways, both of which are inimical to the spread of democracy. In the first place, they are likely to bring together an undue proportion of those who are social leaders and thus discourage the formation of other similar clubs. In the second place, they introduce the invidious comparison between those who are in it and those who are not. If

other similar groups are formed, rivalry undemocratic in the extreme is likely to be developed and community activity is less possible.

Churches in small communities become similar disorganizing agencies in many cases. They divide those who have got religion from those who do not have it; moreover, they divide those who have a particular brand from those of other types. The tendency to centralize the social life of local groups around the church thus divides those of one church from those of another and prevents socialization in the larger sense. Moreover, the local church which emphasizes a particular belief rather than community interest as the basis of its existence too often becomes a close club of intimate friends with little or no influence upon the mass of the non-church members in any given group.

Differences in ethical standards tend to prevent the spread of democracy in community organization. Those who believe in dancing do not associate with those who do not; those whose consciences are not troubled by taking a social glass occasionally gathered until recently in places where teetotalers would not go in public. The standard of sex morality also divided groups less openly but none the less really.

In the long run, deterring community organizations will give way before the changing public judgment as to what is the best machinery for the expression of the democratic ideal. But in the meantime these institutions and the social cleavages directly or indirectly resulting from them will continue to act as deterrents to the forward movement. The breakdown of these deterrents will be more rapidly effected by the scientific study of ethical standards, religious dogma, and social institutions, and by popular education as to the principles on which social conduct and community organization should be based. This is the particular province of the sociologist, and upon his work depends to a large degree the rapidity of the development of a practical democracy in community organization.

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It is natural and proper that Professor Sanderson should look to rural life for an example of a typical community. In this simpler social organization of the countryside we can clearly see the common interests that bring the people together. While it is true that the city has a far more complex organization, there is danger of overemphasis in the writer's statements that a large city is a "mere aggregation of people living together under a city government"; "that the life of the city is dominated by the industrial process which brings together huge aggregates of humanity with little or nothing in common"; and that in larger cities "it may be possible to create more or less artificial units, such as the neighborhood associations and community councils." There is truth, of course, in these statements, but it should not be overlooked that the people of a city or of any section of a city possess a wealth of common

interests, in spite of the fact that their daily industrial life may tend to divide rather than bring them together. After all, the people in a city community must send their children to the same schools, buy at the same stores, take advantage of the same recreational opportunities, and live their lives for better or for worse in the same general environment. When the neighborhood association or social settlement brings the people of a given locality together on a common plane of interest, it is not stimulating the development of "artificial units" but is bringing into the foreground the natural community life which is too often buried amidst the strain and stress of city conditions.

One of the problems in community organization, whether rural or urban, is to develop this community consciousness which will enable the people to stand more solidly together and have a real voice in matters affecting their welfare. Community organization must be preceded by a community consciousness which is not centered on one aspect of community life but is based on a well-rounded view of its activities considered in relation to standards attained by similar communities. We are all familiar with the community self-consciousness that consists of pride of location, climate, natural resources, or special attainments. Such pride is likely to impress the more widely traveled stranger as local provincialism caused by lack of breadth of view. As a matter of fact, this local pride represents the beginning of the community's appraisal of itself, and upon it may be built a more intelligent self-consciousness that will include all aspects of community life.

One means of developing this interest of the community in itself is the social survey. In the past this has usually been done by a group of experts, with more or less local assistance. Such a method may lead to accurate conclusions, but the community interest it arouses is based more upon sensational findings than upon the more enduring foundation of active participation in the work. What is needed is a technique for a community study that can go forward with a minimum of outside leadership and a maximum of effort on the part of the people concerned. If such a technique can be perfected, good headway ought to be made in the organization of communities stimulated to make a better adjustment of their social forces through their own study of their problems.

It is, in my opinion, unfortunate that Professor Sanderson failed to make an appraisal of the methods of community organization now actually at work. At the point in the paper where he might have been expected to deal with this aspect of his problem, he says: "The mechanisms of community organization are still too new for us to form any safe judgment as to their relative worth."

Is the sociologist, we might ask, to fill the rôle of a bystander and wait until "safe judgment" is possible, before joining hands with others in an effort to promote community organization? Is not the sociologist the one to whom the people should look for the best evaluation of the varied schemes for social betterment? Would it be too much to expect the sociologist to take an

active interest in such a notable experiment in community organization as the National Social Unit Organization? In the paper under discussion, this experimental work carried out in Cincinnati during the past three years is dismissed after mention in a footnote. The *Survey* recently attempted an evaluation of this experiment from the standpoint of social workers. A sociological discussion of democracy and community organization certainly would not go far afield if it also endeavored to evaluate an experiment designed, as it is claimed, to create "a new type of democratic organization through which the citizenship as a whole can participate in the control of community affairs while at the same time making constant use of the highest technical skill available."

This criticism of Professor Sanderson's paper might be made to apply just as well to many sociological discussions of practical problems. We define terms, which is, of course, necessary, and discuss general principles and relations with a fine degree of skill; and then pause for breath while the social worker pursues his weary way up the hill. We sociologists cannot afford to have such a little share in the significant movements now going on all about us. Especially at the present time there is too much at stake for us to stand in the background and watch the procession go by. Social workers of various brands and types find themselves facing an unparalleled opportunity to carry out their schemes on a greater scale than ever before. Anyone who has experienced the high pressure of work in a large social organization appreciates the difficulty of securing time or strength for sound and constructive thought. The situation demands team play. Social workers need the support of our sociologists in the universities, and the cause they both represent needs the strength which will come through their whole-hearted co-operation.

DEMOCRACY AND CLASS RELATIONS

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In popular phraseology, democracy is equality of opportunity. But one asks, "Equality of opportunity for what?" Reduced to its essential meaning, democracy seems to signify the condition of *equality of opportunity for self-expression*, or, as it is sometimes stated, for self-determination. It is a human equality involving opportunity in a suitable field for growth and expression of self,¹ and not a mechanical equality which usually signifies standardization.

Deep in the original nature of all men there is a powerful urge toward self-realization. The instinctive tendencies in a man's makeup look toward fulfilment. Moderate self-expression of the instincts of workmanship, curiosity, ownership or acquisition, self-assertion and pugnacity, is natural and normal. These impulses toward action are of exceedingly ancient origin and of corresponding strength. Repression of them is harmful and reacts upon the organism to cause disharmony and internal conflict. States of internal disquietude and turmoil that succeed thwarted impulses make the adjustment of the organism to its environment difficult and strangely complicate its reactions. The defensive mechanisms of displacement, projection, symbolism, compensation, and rationalization which lead to abnormalities in conduct have been explained by Freud, Jung, Adler, Brill, Frink, and others. In this paper I want to suggest for your consideration the social consequences that follow the repression of certain elements of man's original nature by the pressure of class *mores* upon normal rather than psychopathic members of a majority.

Modern books on history relate the stages of the struggle for freedom of political expression. Political autocracy and political

¹ C. H. Cooley, *The Social Process*, pp. 86-87.

democracy have each their own *mores* of restraint, but the *mores* of divine right and caste status bear heavily upon the unprivileged and deny to the masses equality of opportunity for self-expression as it is enjoyed by members of the classes. Step by step the people have gained ground in the direction of equality of opportunity for political self-expression until the franchise is today enjoyed by all responsible males in America and by many females. Whether the ballot is the best mechanical device to serve as the vehicle of political self-expression it is not my purpose to discuss, but the point I wish to make here is this: demonstrable progress has already been achieved *in the field of political relations*, local, state, and even national, toward equality of opportunity for self-expression. The self-assertive, constructive, acquisitive, and pugnacious tendencies of man's original nature have found considerable fulfilment in the sphere of politics. Leaders have arisen who have worked their way up from the bottom; great political organizations have been built; the control of vast sources of wealth has been achieved; and political rivalry has given vent to combative impulses. But, owing to our rather short experience in the practice of political self-expression, little self-discipline has been achieved. Politically we are undisciplined as individuals. The electorate is so loath to assume responsibility that having won the ballot it is not enough interested in the issues to vote.

Let me suggest two more examples of evolution in the direction of equality of opportunity for self-expression. However disguised were the economic motives underlying the Protestant Reformation, it is clear that this great revolution represented a revolt against autocracy in thought, and achieved a certain measure of freedom for the expression of thought without religious restraint. Equality of opportunity for self-expression in thought was brought a step nearer by the reformation. In the multiplicity of religious sects and denominations of the present time we find examples of the realization of impulses toward self-assertion, creativeness, acquisition, and other instincts, because every one of these organizations provides opportunities for the exercise of capacities for leadership, for constructive talent, for curiosity and other innate and powerful human tendencies.

Now the field of industrial relations is the center of attention. We are witnessing a struggle for freedom from the restraints of the *mores* of industrial capitalism. The masses of laboring men, so long inarticulate, have at last attained a considerable measure of class consciousness and they believe that they know what they want and how to get it. What they want is opportunity for expression of self. They demand industrial democracy—*equality of opportunity for self-expression in the field of industry*. Ranging all the way from vague industrial unrest, at one end of the scale, to the enflamed margins of radicalism where direct action and sabotage are advocated and even practiced, the struggle is on in real earnest. Some degree of industrial democracy seems to have been achieved in the organization of shop committees and industrial councils. At least labor has secured representation in management in certain establishments. A step has thus been taken in the direction of equality of opportunity for self-expression in industry. It is too early to expect evidences of a feeling of responsibility from labor; for the much longer experience that men have had with political democracy has not produced much that is substantial in the way of disciplined expression of self, since political irresponsibility is witnessed on every hand.

At the present time there is need of the discipline of self through the experience of responsibility quite as much as there is need of self-expression. Democracy rests on duties as well as on opportunities. For democratic citizenship we want a self-reliant personality, developed by self-expression, disciplined by self-help, and tempered by the experience of responsibility. *In our zeal to eradicate from society the conditions which deny opportunity for self-expression—autocracy, slums, filth, disease, ugliness, lack of personal privacy, low wages, and all that mars and mutilates the self sense—we have neglected to eliminate the conditions which deny opportunity for self-help and the sharing of responsibility*, conditions which are just as fatal a menace to the development of the self-reliant personality. What we want in our democracy is *equality of opportunity for responsible self-expression*.

I have attempted to elaborate the concept of equality of opportunity for self-expression in the course of my analysis of democracy

from the sociological viewpoint. I shall now consider democracy and class relations.

Originally classes were built upon caste. Caste was the result of conquest and conquest was everywhere accepted as evidence of native inferiority of the conquered. This traditional association of inferiority with caste status had momentum enough (since it enjoyed the prestige of the established) to carry over into classes, and classes not even survivals of caste were surrounded with the tradition. Hence it came about that class lines were accepted as evidence of native inferiority. Members of the lower classes were held in contempt. But biological science has shown that native inferiority cuts across class lines, and consequently that class distinctions rest on artificial and not natural considerations. Modern class lines, as distinct from vestigial classes of the Old World, form around vital human interests and are most sharply drawn around economic interests. The standardizing influences of the new communication, by the telephone, telegraph, photograph, daily newspaper, railroads, and steamship lines, have cut across and leveled down to a considerable degree those class lines which had formed around political and religious interests. In America, class lines also form around racial differences. It is customary to look down upon the immigrant and his group.

Now the purpose of class organization is to gain self-expression for a minority interest. It is a device to secure self-determination for the few. The Egyptian priesthood, the nobles of the ancient régime, the German military caste, all alike exploited the majority for their own interests. Meanwhile what of the welfare of the majority? Overemphasis and overdevelopment of class organization are almost always at the expense of the majority. There is continual conflict between narrow class interests crystallized into rigid customs, and the general welfare of the masses.

Let us view the products of this clash of class and mass rather more closely. Expression gained for members of a privileged class is often at the expense of repression of the same instincts in others and inevitably produces social disharmony. Again, overweighting and overgrowth of certain elements in the nature of an individual class member (overspecialization) are at the

expense of other elements in his personal makeup and result in individual disharmony. Now where the social equilibrium is unbalanced and the minds of individuals who occupy socially strategic positions are biased, there is left no sure basis for mutual confidence and the exercise of the sympathetic imagination—both main props of democracy.

To consider now the repressions due to restraints of class customs and *mores* and the types of social reaction to which they lead. One of the important *mores* of industrial capitalism is that of *centralization* of ownership and directing power. Centralization thwarts expression of instincts of curiosity, of self-assertion, and of acquisition among the masses of laboring men, while it allows exaggerated gratification of these impulses to the members of the favored employer class. The average workingman has had small opportunity in the vast productive units of industrial capitalism to gain experience in management. He has had little opportunity to accumulate and hence build upon his original ownership impulse the habits of thrift and forethought.

Another *mores* of industrial capitalism that tends to balk the natural expression of the instinct of workmanship is that of *specialization* in production. Veblen and Tead¹ have shown how this practice destroys the skill of handicrafts by introducing into production such a minute subdivision of process and specialization of labor that work is reduced to the repetition of minor and monotonous tasks and all the joy of creation that flows from producing the full product is gone out of it.

Reactions to this order of things take the form of certain well-known psychological defenses, curious adaptations of the organism or of the group to forces in the environment which produce internal conflict. Sometimes the thwarted instincts gain a vicarious expression by the release of energy through other instinctive channels. Such is the extravagant and undisciplined spending by the working class which follows upon a sudden rise in wages. Instead of constructive outlets for impulses toward self-assertion, wasteful modes of self-expression are indulged in. This stimulates foolish fads and ephemeral fashions that are inconsistent with

¹ T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship*; O. Tead, *Instincts in Industry*.

sound policies of economic production, and the whole situation is further complicated. Again, thwarted in the expression of its constructive impulses, the organism finds satisfaction by the expenditure of energy in the pugnacious instinct. Combative tendencies function vicariously to relieve pent-up human beings of the strain and internal conflict which results from balked impulses toward normal self-assertion, constructive workmanship, and moderate acquisition. We observe riots, industrial disorder, and labor violence. Property of management is wilfully destroyed and direct action is resorted to. On the other hand, a certain degree of self-expression is realized in executive and other responsible posts in labor organizations. The opportunities thus afforded for normal outlet to impulses of self-assertion, creativeness, and other constructive instinctive tendencies have much to do with the growth of trade unions and labor organizations. It is recognized by historians that the guilds of Rome provided a medium for the fulfilment of impulses and yearnings denied expression to the submerged classes by the rigidity of the then existing social structure.¹

More complicated than these relatively simple defenses and fraught with far subtler dangers to democracy is the dissociation among traditions which selfish class expression by means of special class *mores* fosters. Class organization, designed to gain self-expression for minority interests, works through special *mores* calculated to restrain the masses in the interest of the class. Sumner² has pointed out that folkways and *mores* are subject to a strain of improvement toward better adaptation of means to ends, and to a strain of consistency with each other. Class *mores* are continually subject to the strain of better adaptation as means to the end of advancing the interests of the class, and little attention is paid to their consistency with the *mores* of other groupings. The ends of different classes differ, and the *mores* that are means to the realization of those ends are likewise diverse. Widely divergent *mores* thus exist side by side in society and, as traditions split off from one another, they tend to develop without reference to other

¹ F. F. Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, pp. 221-22.

² *Folkways*, p. 5.

traditions and to elaborate themselves in communication-tight compartments. We find a social situation of dissociation among traditions that has a certain resemblance to the dissociation of ideas as it exists in the mind of the psychopath. Just as the paranoid delusion of greatness finds no obstacle to its triumphant elaboration in the fact that the patient is an utter incompetent since the contradictory sets of ideas are never allowed to come in contact in the patient's consciousness, so in society the inconsistency between the traditional ideals of Christianity and business practices is not admitted. Christian business men pursue one course of traditional reasoning in their religious observances, and quite another course of action and thought in their vocations.

Several decades ago, in a noted controversy between Samuel Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican*, and David Dudley Field, attorney for the Fisk-Gould Erie combination, Mr. Field contended that it was not only possible but proper for a man to have one conscience as a mentor in private life, but another one to guide him professionally. It is reported that Marvin Hughitt, when president of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, said at a meeting of railroad presidents a few years ago, when there was formulated that bit of railroad ethics known as "The Gentlemen's Agreement": "As individuals I would trust you with my watch, I would accept your word without its being fortified by oath, I would never think of questioning your integrity. But as railroad men I would not trust you with my watch, I would not accept your word under oath, I would not believe you as far as I could see you across the street." I understand that this statement was not intended for publication. It is therefore all the more valuable as evidence of the extent to which dissociation among traditions has proceeded in the course of the development of special class *mores*.

It is therefore a much lamented fact that the orthodox traditions of Christianity—the brotherhood of man, the Golden Rule and so on—are so fully dissociated from business ethics as to constitute split-off traditions in communication-tight compartments. Now it is frequently observed that the leaders of industrial capitalism who have gained their vast wealth under the special business *mores* that have so little in common with the *mores* of Christianity,

are prominent practitioners of the *mores* of philanthropy. Of the *mores* of philanthropy J. A. Hobson has written:

It is more socially injurious for the millionaire to spend his surplus wealth in charity than in luxury. For by spending it on luxury, he chiefly injures himself and his immediate circle, but by spending it in charity he inflicts a graver injury upon society. For every act of charity, applied to heal suffering arising from defective arrangements of society, serves to weaken the personal springs of social reform, alike by the "miraculous" relief it brings to the individual "case" that is relieved, and by the softening influence it exercises on the hearts and heads of those who witness it. It substitutes the idea and the desire of individual reform for those of social reform, and so weakens the capacity for collective self-help in society.¹

And F. C. Howe has written:

Private organized charity is an obstacle in the way of justice. If we had no such organizations men would think of fundamental reforms; they would think of ways and means to abolish the causes of poverty, rather than the consequences of it. I know of many instances where organized charity opposed practical movements, like motherhood pensions, minimum wages, and housing reforms. Why? It seems rather hard to say it, but I believe it was because the class which administers charity is the class responsible for poverty. It is responsible through the unjust economic conditions which this class perpetuates. And it is the very halo which organized charity throws around itself that makes it doubly difficult for us to penetrate to the real cause of industrial injustice and put an end to it.²

The *mores* of philanthropy thus serve to cloak the inconsistency between business practices and social ethics, they distort the significance of the conflict and provide an illusory basis for self-complacency. In short, the *mores* of philanthropy perform the function of rationalization for the capitalist class, because through them the benefactor deceives himself as to the fundamental nature of the conflict between the *mores* of wealth-getting, as practiced by his special class, and the precepts of social ethics.

Other examples of dissociation among traditions might be given. Perhaps the splitting-off process had advanced farthest in imperial Germany, where the special *mores* of militarism were pursued alongside the *mores* of Christian ethics. The gross inconsistency between these dissociated systems of tradition was not allowed to

¹ *Work and Wealth*, p. 296.

² *The Public*, February 19, 1915.

trouble the consciousness of the average German, for the primitive paranoid delusion of "the chosen people" had been so carefully nurtured that it had become a *mores* of rationalization.

Now the point to be made, in consideration of this confused state of social tradition that results from perpetuation by classes each of their own *mores* without regard to others, is this: We cannot expect to secure the assumption of democratic responsibility when confidence in one another and in different classes is undermined by the existence of so much personal and class self-deceit. To become more *consecutive* and *unbroken* as it proceeds, social evolution must work through the medium of an orderly and consistent social tradition. The colossal blunders that dissociation of traditions may cause, leading to such devices as rationalization, projection, and symbolism, are exemplified in the antics performed by the United States Senate in dealing with the peace treaty.

I have pointed out the tendency of class traditions to occupy communication-tight compartments. The remedy for such a deplorable condition of affairs would seem to be a willingness to modify the dissociation by frankly facing the facts. The well-poised individual squares his moral accounts every day by honestly facing his difficulties. Social classes must learn to do the same. Class conflicts must be admitted and confronted in utmost frankness. The individual who practices good mental hygiene strives to sublimate his thwarted impulses and seeks to avoid forming bad habits. Similarly the social classes, discovering that their selfish interests are inconsistent with social welfare, must learn to sublimate these balked interests. They must also diligently seek to avoid the development of *mores* that are socially harmful.

Harmful customs will be checked in their incipiency by frank recognition and acceptance of a state of inconsistency and conflict among class traditions; by the recognition that in class relations there are no social absolutes or invariable constants; by the realization that the time element involved in thoroughgoing readjustment and reorganization of class relations is considerable; by a frank effort to meet the existing conflicts with compromise; and finally, by honest efforts to live up to the conditions of the compromise.

Sublimation of class interests which are thwarted by acceptance of the principle of majority welfare means the direction of class energies into channels of service. With sufficient publicity as a precautionary measure, the mandatories of the League of Nations would be a sort of sublimation of blocked imperialistic interests. Open dealing under the principle of mandatories would bring a squaring of certain international moral accounts before the bar of public opinion, a tribunal free from class bias.

To recapitulate the points that I have tried to make in dealing with the intangible aspects of this problem of democracy and class relations: Democracy means equality of opportunity for self-expression. Forces in the environment that restrain and deny the normal expression of instincts are followed by harmful effects. Mankind has slowly worked its way up from autocracy in political relations and in thought to some degree of equality of opportunity for self-expression. At the present time we are witnessing the struggle for equality of opportunity for the expression of self in industry. But the purpose of class organization is not equality of opportunity for self-expression for all, it is to secure expression for a minority interest. Thus class organization and the principle of democracy are in sharp conflict. In so far as classes gain self-expression, it is purchased at the expense of repressing the same impulses in members of the majority. Such class *mores* of industrial capitalism as centralization and specialization in production thwart the instincts of workmanship, ownership, self-assertion, and other instincts of the majority of working people. Repression of these powerful impulses leads to diversion and misdirection of energy from constructive to destructive outlets. But more complicated than these reactions to the oppression of class *mores* is the confused state of social traditions which results from the independent elaboration of special class *mores*. Social traditions become dissociated into independent systems which occupy communication-tight compartments. There is one tradition of business and another of Christianity. Members of the capitalist class deceive themselves as to the seriousness of the conflict between these divergent traditions by the rationalization procedure of philanthropy. Dissociation among traditions had proceeded even

farther in Germany. The state of social confusion, self-deceit, hypocrisy, and pessimism resulting from this condition of dis-sociation among traditions can be dealt with only by frankly facing the facts of conflict and inconsistency. Just as the normal individual squares his moral accounts every day by confronting his difficulties with honest purpose, so should the social classes face their conflicts with frankness. In this way harmful *mores* may be checked. Finally, the sublimation of class interests balked by the acceptance of the principle of majority welfare may be accomplished by diverting energy into channels of service. Under safeguards the plan of mandatories of the League of Nations is a proposal to sublimate thwarted imperialistic interests.

DISCUSSION

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The definition of "democracy" which seems most generally accepted is that it is an equalization of opportunity. This involves both a negative and a positive aspect. Negatively, democracy consists in the destruction of special privileges which gives larger opportunities to some than it does to others. Positively, democracy consists in the promotion of those facilities of all kinds which will enable all members of a nation to attain their fullest development. A social class may be defined as a portion of the population which occupies a particular status with reference to rights, privileges, and opportunities. Wherever the term is used at all definitely, I think it connotes this fact of status with reference to rank. Classes, of course, become marked by other distinctions which follow from a status of rank. Occupation is generally a distinctive characteristic of a class. The culture which their opportunities permit the members to attain generally is rather uniform throughout a class. A feeling of fellowship and one-ness generally prevails to a greater or less extent.

Professor Chapin is entirely right in noting that the origin of class was in conquest, the fixing of definiteness of status in rank followed immediately from the imposition of power and authority by one group over another. The conquered were given a lower rank, fewer privileges and opportunities. Modern classes, however, arise more particularly out of economic conditions. For example, in the United States, the origins of our class distinctions are essentially economic and must be thought of in connection with certain economic privileges that have been secured by certain portions of the population while others have been deprived of them.

There can be no denial of the fact that classes exist in modern democracy, although the bases of class distinction are different from those in other forms of society. The distinctions are as real as elsewhere and must be taken account of. In the United States we distinguish about four social classes. There is the employing and capitalist class, the wage-earning class, the professional and commercial class, the agricultural class. While it is true that these groups in the United States do not differ from one another essentially in some privileges and opportunities, there is sufficient difference both of status and of occupation and of culture to set these groups off rather distinctly from one another. There are of course numerous subdivisions within each of the groups. Contrary to an opinion sometimes expressed, I do not see that the further development of democracy means the elimination of social classes. The conflict between the foregoing groups, for example, in the United States, shows no evidence of declining. The whole history of the development of democracy in Western Europe and America does not point to any decline in the intensity of the struggle between any of these groups. On the other hand, the intensity of the struggle in many cases seems to be increased.

The explanation of this fact is that the goal of democracy is not the reduction of all members of the population to a common level. It is rather the elimination of special privileges and the possession of equal opportunities. When these are provided, the population will naturally fall into those groups where the various members belong by virtue of their inherent qualities and interests. I think we may expect therefore that democracy will address itself to providing the conditions of a struggle in which the best can win rather than in attempting to make the condition of all the same.

The struggle between these conflicting classes in a modern democracy will concern itself particularly with the efforts of those who are shut out of certain privileges, to be themselves on an equality of opportunity with the others. This struggle will involve the aligning of groups now in one way and now in another. For example, the present struggle against the economic privileges possessed by the employing and capitalist class unites to some extent the wage-earning group, the agricultural group, and the professional group. We probably will see the further cementing of fellowship between these three groups before the contest is finally won. When, however, the superior privileges enjoyed by the employing and capitalist class have been eliminated, we will see a different alignment to attack the privileges enjoyed by other groups. For example, probably the next great struggle after the present one will be for the removal of the special privileges of those who are in possession of the land and other natural resources. There we would find the wage-earning group, the professional group, and the employing group allied against the agricultural group. There are enough special privileges enjoyed by this group to provide sufficient material for class struggle in the United States for many generations to come. The great problem for us to solve is how we can

secure the continual elimination of special privileges, so that we shall constantly approach the situation in which no class shall have privileges which the others may not enjoy. The different occupational groups will of course maintain their separateness, and there seems to be nothing in the nature of democracy that would remove that situation. There is plenty of good fighting ahead. What we want to secure is a situation in which the best man can win.

MODERN PHILANTHROPIC MOVEMENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO DEMOCRACY

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If anyone had asked ten years ago what is meant by a philanthropic movement, it would not have been difficult to tell him. So rapid have been the changes, however, that today a definition of philanthropy and philanthropic movements is more difficult. Shall we define the term "philanthropic movements" as those movements which have for their purpose the assistance of the unfortunate and the removal of conditions by which misfortune is produced? If so, shall we include with the associated charities, the public-welfare associations, and medical charities, also the schools, social legislation, and the various movements which have for their purpose the protection of the worker from industrial accident or disease? These are certainly movements for the removal of the conditions which produce poverty. In some cases they also assist the unfortunate. For example, the schools in some cases provide the nurses and doctors and even the lunches for the children from unfortunate families. Certainly the medical charities, such as the free dispensaries, visiting nurses, and free clinics, assist the unfortunate. Where shall we draw the line? Let us for the purpose of this discussion accept the term "philanthropic movements" in its technical sense, in spite of the fact that philanthropy has become preventive as well as ameliorative, on the one hand, and that, on the other, schools and legislation are sometimes ameliorative as well as preventive.

Perhaps it may be well also to define as accurately as possible what we mean by democracy. Do we mean merely political democracy, and if so, what does that term mean? When the Constitution of the United States was written, it meant the participation of all the white men in the government by the town meeting.

or through their representatives in the state or national legislative bodies. It did not include either colored people or women. I suppose that even yet it does not include all of the people. The mentally defective are certainly barred from the exercise of political privileges and responsibilities. It means then ideally the exercise of political privileges by all of the people except those who are incompetent to share in the responsibility of the government.

With the passage of time democracy has been extended to other than the political field. We hear of industrial democracy and social democracy. I take it that industrial democracy, with the Webbs who coined the phrase, meant the sharing by the worker not only in the fruits of his toil but in the management of industry. Social democracy indicates the wiping out of artificial social distinctions which interfere with the ideal that every person has opportunity to share the privileges of social intercourse on his own personal merits, without reference to his belonging to any artificial social class based on wealth or title of nobility and to give service to society according to his abilities. It does not mean the destruction of differences in capacity. It does mean the recognition of a corresponding responsibility for superior capacity and opportunity.

These definitions may, perhaps, serve as a working basis from which to discuss our subject.

Let us answer first the question as to whether the aims of modern philanthropic movements are democratic. These aims may be summed up as follows:

- a) The relief of those in need of assistance
- b) The care of the defective and incapable
- c) Prevention of misfortune by the adjustment of maladjustments which cause distress
- d) The accomplishment of these aims through interesting the more fortunate in the welfare of what Dr. Devine has called our "social debtors"

Do these purposes make for an increase or a limitation of democracy? Do they create social classes or do they tend to bridge the chasm between the already existing classes? Do they have any bearing at all upon the relation between employer and employee? Do they secure justice for those who suffer from injustice?

It has been claimed by certain proponents of a new social order that philanthropy, by endeavoring to relieve the distress incident to our present organization of society, has the effect of dulling the consciousness of the injustice of the present system. Therefore they say that philanthropic work is a pillar of the organization of society which is essentially undemocratic. If this charge against philanthropy is true, either in whole or in a very great part, then certainly we should have to conclude that philanthropic movements are essentially aristocratic in their effects. It has also been charged that, since philanthropy depends very largely for its funds upon contributions from wealthy people, it must essentially be for the purpose of continuing the present order, else the rich would not contribute toward them. I wonder if this psychology is correct. It assumes that the rich man, first, last, and all the time, has no other concern than the preservation of the social order which enabled him to make his money or which protects him in the possession thereof. Is that true? Is it not rather true that an increasing number of wealthy people share in the democratic desire to see such changes come about in our social order as will remove the present injustices and secure a more substantial justice, an equality of opportunity for the less fortunate?

It has also been charged that modern philanthropic movements are not only financed by the rich but are also managed by them. Therefore, necessarily, these movements are so directed and managed as to uphold the present order. They exist chiefly to relieve the more glaring results, it is claimed, of the present organization of society so that the people will not become clearly conscious of the evil results of the present system. There is no doubt that in a large part the charge that modern philanthropic movements are financed and managed by rich men is true. Not only has that been true of charity organization societies, and social settlements, but it has been more apparent in the great national organizations that have functioned for the relief of misery in connection with the Great War. The Y.M.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, the War Camp Community Service, the Red Cross, and the Salvation Army are all dependent for their finances and the management of their affairs largely upon the financial leaders of the country.

Would this fact cause them to be essentially non-democratic in their aims? I have no doubt that many of the big business men who helped to manage and direct these organizations used the methods of big business. Part of these methods are good and part of them are bad. There is no doubt that the so-called business efficiency which they introduced into the management of these organizations was essentially despotic. It is also probably true that these men were more open to the suggestion of business leaders than to that of common people. It is certainly true that in many instances in the organization of the work there was a regimentation which was as aristocratic and undemocratic as the regimentation in the army or navy, or as the regimentation in a great business organization in which no one but the manager and his board of directors have anything to say about the conditions of the business. I know of one instance in which the management of one of these organizations was despotic to a remarkable degree. The subordinate workers had no voice in the direction of its work. The manager, a big business man, made the decisions and the dispositions of its money and of its personnel. Certainly no one could claim that such management was democratic in its tendency. On the other hand it is not without significance that, in most cases, these organizations were very democratic in their management. For example, I recall when the question of an important decision as to policy was up in the Red Cross, that the national officials at Washington called in from all parts of the country those who were next to the people to assist in the determination of the policy. I think that is true also to a considerable extent of many other organizations. I am bound, therefore, to conclude from my knowledge of these movements that the aims of these organizations are essentially democratic. They aim to relieve distress, not that they may shut off discussion of the injustices of our present system, but that the wretched may have assistance, and that every person may have an equal opportunity and an equal chance in life.

The ultimate aim of relief is not merely to hush the voice of distress but to enable the recipient of relief to get into a position where that person can be independent, self-supporting, and self-

respecting. What group of people has become more active in securing the needed social legislation touching labor conditions, touching health and sanitation, concerning the proper treatment of the offender, than the social worker? Who have been more constructive in their suggestions for the correction of the social mal-adjustments in our social organization than the philanthropists? Certainly so far as the *aims* of modern philanthropic movements are concerned, they make for democracy.

Let us examine next the question as to whether the *methods* of modern philanthropy are democratic in their tendency and results. I take the liberty of suggesting the following methods as characteristic of modern philanthropy:

- a) Investigation
- b) Personal contact and service
- c) Co-operation between all existing agencies in the community for the benefit of the unfortunate
- d) The use of skilled workers in this service
- e) The establishment of a standard of decent living
- f) Attack through legislation and propaganda on the conditions that produce distress and misfortune

Certainly, investigation of the facts concerning poverty or crime cannot be called undemocratic. Without the basis of fact all attack upon a problem is without proper foundation.

Is personal contact with and personal service for those in distress undemocratic? By these contacts and by personal service an appreciation of the difficulties of the unfortunate become keener in the minds of the fortunate than would be possible in any other way.

Organizing the various agencies in any community for the handling of a particular social problem, perhaps, does not affect democracy in any way. It is a measure to prevent overlapping and to secure thoroughness in the unified treatment of the case under consideration.

The use of skilled workers may at first glance look like an aristocratic measure. Sometimes these skilled workers are not as skilful as they are supposed to be. They take an arbitrary and sometimes an overbearing attitude toward the unfortunate. This

is certainly undemocratic and a defect in the system. However, this lack of skill is not inherent in the system. Doubtless, among trained workers, you will occasionally get those who have a despotic attitude instead of those that approach the problem from the democratic point of view. The really skilful worker, however, will not attempt to foist a plan upon an unfortunate family. On the contrary, the skilled worker will endeavor to work forward from any plan which the unfortunate person or family may have for themselves. The aim in view, and the method that a really skilled worker is to develop, is independence and self-sufficiency on the part of the person in distress. Better by far the worker who can get the victim of circumstances to work his own way out to independence than that worker who hands down a ready-made plan for the unfortunate person to carry out. The really skilful worker develops initiative, cultivates in the person with whom he works an understanding of the circumstances which brought the person to distress. Certainly that cannot be undemocratic.

The endeavor to establish a standard of decent living is most certainly democratic. Without a doubt, such an effort produces a discontent with certain existing conditions. Possibly it produces unrest. It may result in the establishment of greater opportunities for the lower economic classes of society. At least, it cannot be called aristocratic in its results.

Finally the modern philanthropist has come to realize that it is not possible to cure the ills with which he deals without attacking such related problems as child labor, the conditions under which women may safely work, hours of labor, sanitary conditions, the administration of justice, and social legislation. On the whole it seems to me that this method inevitably makes for equalization of opportunity and the adjustment of social injustices.

It is not without interest to observe that practically every movement that has meant the broadening of the educational processes and the widening of educational opportunity has been advocated first by social workers. The widening of the use of the school plant for various extra-curriculum activities, the agitation for school gardens, the promotion of thrift, the agitation for social insurance, workmen's compensation, the adjustment of political maladjustments, had their origins in those philanthropic individuals

who by contact with them in the factories and in their homes, or in social settlements in the midst of the crowded sections of our cities, became conscious of the sufferings of the poor, and of the danger of unjust social conditions to democratic institutions.

On the whole, therefore, it seems to me that both the aims and the methods of modern philanthropy are distinctly in the direction of democracy. The whole purpose back of modern philanthropic movements is not to throw dust in the eyes of the sufferers from our social arrangements, but to alleviate the misery incident to the poor working of all economic and social machinery, and ultimately to remove the conditions that produce injustice. These purposes mean the widening of opportunity for every individual in the social body. They mean the equalization of the returns from industry. They mean equal opportunity for education and the constructive use of leisure time. They are not radical in the sense that they demand the whole loaf instead of half a loaf. They proceed, step by step, to change the arrangements of our society, so that the unfavored classes shall have an equal opportunity with the favored. They do not propose to overturn our existing social organization. They do propose, however, to attempt to do away with the maladjustments in our present social arrangements which work grievous wrong to any class of society. They proceed on the assumption that our present social organization can be made better than it is. Some of the philanthropists may believe that a fundamental change in our economic and social life is necessary. Others believe that it is not necessary. Both, however, are working to perfect the machinery so that the maladjustments may be eliminated and a more perfect democracy result, so as to bring about equality of opportunity and an attitude of service of every member of society to every other member.

It may be that the indirect results of modern philanthropy on democracy may be even greater than the direct results. A recent magazine writer's remarks in discussing the influence of modern medicine and education upon American life are a propos in this connection. He says:

Nevertheless, for what is, let us say, the American high school preparing, a new social order, or the stabilization of the old one? When the aristocrats and the burghers of Europe began to be educated, they tore themselves apart

in furious wars over religion. When the western proletariat become educated, will they not tear our social fabric in class wars also. . . .

And our organized philanthropists, combating hookworm, tuberculosis, lynching, child labor, liquor, slums, and preventable crime? The mediaeval church, hampered by its lack of science and the waywardness of the world, engaged in such a struggle, and from a thousand monasteries, built, like our modern foundations upon the profits of exploitation, strove to uplift Europe.

. . . And the church succeeded in its measure until, on the somewhat specious plea that not love but justice was demanded, rapacious governments seized the capital of the ecclesiastical corporations and sold the abbeys for building stone and lead.

Our great organizations are more efficient than the church because they are more scientific. Whether they are more successful depends upon our estimation of success. . . . The church inspired a confidence (not always justified) in the friendliness of destiny which the Rockefeller Foundation has so far failed to equal. . . .

With little more regard to the source of their wealth than the church, the philanthropies of today have far less regard for the final results of their benefactions. As with the educators, it is enough for them to, so to speak, improve the breed. The apparent philosophy behind their progress is that when the proletariat is bathed, educated, and made healthy, it will be civilized, and therefore, competent to take over the world (including universities and steel mills, railroads and hospitals) and run them. . . . Clearly one cannot wash, teach, and invigorate society without powerfully effecting the whole social fabric.¹

In my mind there is no doubt that the tendency both directly and indirectly of modern philanthropy is to democratize our institutions and our ideals. For this tendency philanthropists are suspected, are cursed by those who worship the God of things as they are. They are also suspected, are cursed by radical agitators who see no hope for society without the destruction of representative government and such an organization of society as puts the working classes in the saddle. To those, however, who are interested not in any theory of how results shall be obtained and who are not doctrinaire advocates of some pet theory of government and industrial organization, modern philanthropy appears as the harbinger of the overturn of the established injustices, and as the method whereby the dream of social righteousness may be practically achieved, and democracy may be more firmly grounded.

¹ Canby, "Radical America," *Century Magazine* (September 19, 1919), pp. 580, 581.

DISCUSSION

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One of the speakers this morning said in part, "Democracy is the right of the general public to participate in the activities affecting them." If we accept this general statement of what is meant by democracy, can we agree with Dr. Gillin that modern philanthropic movements are democratic? Only in a very narrow sense would it hold true, for in most cases even the delegation of power of control is not participated in by the general public—nor are they given any opportunity to participate other than the privilege of contributing toward the financial needs. In such matters as determining the general policy, the scope and administration, it is doubtful whether modern philanthropic organizations could be called democratic.

The control of philanthropic movements by a small select group may result in the best type of service. Greater democracy may not be the best form of organization and of control of such activities. But whether such is the case or not, the fact remains that modern philanthropic organizations are largely dominated by a small group who feel they are more capable than the masses in determining the policies and controlling the activities of the organization. If that is the most desirable form of control, why should we not admit it, and cease trying to prove that it is democratic?

In the paper just read, it was held that the aims upon which modern philanthropic organizations are founded are essentially democratic. These aims being based largely on the principle of "making the world a better place in which to live." If we consider the *aims* only as the basis for democracy, we would find most organizations of this kind democratic, in the same sense as Peter the Great was democratic, or in the same sense as a wealthy man who establishes and endows an institution. The aim of all three—Peter the Great, the wealthy philanthropist, and the philanthropic organization—may be to make the world a better place in which to live.

Frequently the small group of persons controlling the policy and activities of a welfare organization become so enthusiastic over the *aim* of their organization that the "Aim" becomes the center of their interests, and the actual benefits of their efforts are lost. Their energies are expended in the attempts to *Perpetuate the organization* which has such democratic aims, rather than in carrying some of the less pretentious aims into effect.

Investigation and personal contact were mentioned, among other specific activities of philanthropic organizations, as being democratic. That will, of course, depend upon other conditions. All of us who have worked in this field know how frequently—despite the original purpose of the investigation or personal contact—it may become anything but democratic.

Within the past six months I have been approached by representatives of four organizations requesting me to aid them in carrying on almost identical investigations, and all expecting to cover the same territory. They were all

to be supported in the main by the people residing within that territory. This policy was decided upon by the small, select group—and not by people affected nor by persons they had selected as representatives. In at least one case it was frankly admitted that they were not certain what use would be made of the data when obtained, but that it was necessary for them to keep in touch with the field, as they hoped eventually to cover every community in the country, and unless a reasonable showing could be made they could not get the money to carry on their work—no doubt very commendable but certainly not democratic. The program was, of course, decided upon by a rather small, select group.

In summary, then, our contention is: (1) that the method of organization of modern philanthropic agencies is usually undemocratic; (2) that the aims thereof, while having as a rule the benefit of all as the final goal, often become a more or less vague theory, and the best efforts are spent in trying to build up a great organization which by its own momentum will perpetuate itself—the carrying out of the original aims having become a secondary matter; (3) the methods of work followed often lose their real value because of carrying the double load of *competition and self-perpetuation*.

EDWIN L. EARL, DREW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

There is so much in Professor Gillin's paper with which we are all in agreement that discussion must take either the form of repetition or compliment.

He has shown conclusively that both the aims and the methods of modern philanthropic movements are not incompatible with an intelligent form of democracy.

The writer, however, in one paragraph of his excellent paper, in order to check the radical wolves of criticism, throws to them some of the straw-stuffed old clothes of certain war philanthropies when, in speaking of the Y.M.C.A., K. of C., War Camp Community Service, Red Cross, and Salvation Army, he says: "It is certainly true that in many instances in the organization of the work there was a regimentation which was as aristocratic and undemocratic as the regimentation in the army or navy, or as the regimentation in a great business organization in which no one but the manager and the board of directors have anything to say about the conditions of the business." When we consider the fact that in war democracy to be efficient must have such a system of regimentation, which the people willingly concede for the time being, there was nothing in such practices of these great philanthropies incompatible with efficient democracy.

The citation of the article of Mr. Canby in the *Century Magazine* in which the familiar radical arguments by analogy from history (which are seldom true to the facts) to show the indirect results of philanthropy on democracy gives

the writer occasion for the splendid indorsement of modern philanthropy in its beneficent effects upon democracy contained in the closing paragraph.

It seems to me that Professor Gillin could have made use of more specific cases of great philanthropic agencies that have been the champions of democracy.

Take, for example, the recent report of the Carnegie Foundation, *Justice and the Poor*, in the foreword of which Mr. Root says, "The highest obligation of government is to secure justice for those who, because they are poor and weak and friendless, find it hard to maintain their own rights." In the report Mr. Taft says: "We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not the fact."

Protestant missions, supported in most part by the gifts of the common people, have been the leaven of democracy in every country under despotic rule in modern history.

The Interchurch World Movement, supported and budgeted by the co-operative giving of the people of every class, has for its objective a reconstructed world on the basis of Christian democracy.

Philanthropy is organized and institutionalized good-neighborship; democracy is government of the people, for the people, by the people.

Their relations are harmonious, their aims identical.

J. E. CUTLER, WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

The relation of modern philanthropic movements to democracy is a subject which can scarcely receive adequate consideration within the limits set for Professor Gillin's paper and for its discussion. This is a subject which still awaits full scientific treatment from the point of view of sociology. We sociologists have given it but meager attention as yet. Philanthropy is a modern phenomenon; it is, in particular, a characteristic feature of American society—one of those commonplaces of life the significance of which usually escapes us. The place and function of philanthropy in a democratic societal organization have yet to be determined, even though most of us may be inclined to agree with Professor Gillin that the tendency of modern philanthropy is to democratize our institutions and our ideals.

The difficulties which one faces in attempting a brief discussion of this subject are illustrated in this paper. Professor Gillin undertakes to define what is meant by a "philanthropic movement" and then says that for the present purpose it must be used in its restricted sense, thus making the term synonymous with preventive or constructive charity. This restricts our consideration of the subject to those activities and agencies which occupy a position on the border line between charity and philanthropy. He thus gives us no means of distinguishing between charity and philanthropy although he appears to hold the

opinion that preventive charity, especially as regards its aims and methods, has contributed very largely to modern philanthropy. The fact that the term "philanthropy" has come into general use in this country, during the last fifty years, clearly indicates that for certain purposes at least the word "charity" has proved inadequate. But philanthropy, in its broadest significance, is by definition placed outside the scope of this paper.

It should be noted in this connection that philanthropy may conceivably be regarded as something entirely apart from charity. It may be conceived of as a modern device or practice by which an older generation attempts to smooth the pathway for succeeding generations. It takes various forms, e.g., endowments, welfare organizations, propaganda for social reform, social legislation, social insurance, all of which are believed to contribute to a common end. The family and the home formerly carried this responsibility exclusively. But it appears that the family unit is not able under all circumstances today to meet this responsibility satisfactorily, if unaided. Philanthropy may be regarded as an effort to bring organized assistance to the family as a social institution, in relation to one of its most important functions. Parental care and mutual aid as factors in social progress are thus finding expression in new ways in the present complex societal organization. It is probable that not all of these new ways are in all respects advantageous and in line with societal evolution. A comprehensive sociological study of all the various philanthropic movements of recent years would undoubtedly be a profitable undertaking.

The control of the "dead hand" is coming to be recognized as a matter of vital importance in modern society. When the use of vast sums of money in perpetuity are determined by bequests, it is to be expected that the citizens in a democracy will be concerned about the terms of the bequests. The multiplication of foundations and trust funds in recent years has gone on at a rapid rate. Of national significance are the Russell Sage Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the great Carnegie endowments. More recent examples, of scarcely less significance, are the Commonwealth Fund and the great bequests of the late Henry Clay Frick. When a man designates the public uses to which \$125,000,000 shall be put, out of an entire fortune estimated at \$150,000,000, as did Mr. Frick, he has not only individually assumed a great responsibility but he has also made a genuine effort to find ways in which his fortune may contribute to the common welfare.

A study of the benefactions of the last twenty-five years shows a marked tendency to minimize the control of the "dead hand," to place control in the hands of living persons, to create what are called "living trusts." This tendency is exemplified in the recent creation of numerous "community trusts." The first of these was the Cleveland Foundation, established in 1914. It has served as a model for more than twenty other community trusts in other cities. The originator of the Cleveland Foundation has said: "Time will be required to determine the value and usefulness of community trusts, but I am hopeful that they

will be found helpful in avoiding the evil effects of the 'dead hand' and in stimulating and safeguarding gifts to charity." Specific endowments, best illustrated perhaps by the "dole charities" in England, are ordinarily about a generation behind the thought of the time. The testator evidently goes back to his own early experience when he seeks guidance for the bestowal of his beneficence, not realizing that perhaps the particular need which he has in mind has subsequently been met in other ways. The community trust is an effort to obviate this difficulty and also to reduce the handicap which wealthy parents sometimes place upon their children.

There is reason to believe that the trustees of most of these recent great endowments will be responsive to public sentiment and seek to administer their trusts in the interest of an effective democracy. Some recent occurrences could be cited in support of this presumption in their favor.

In the administration of the great funds collected by popular subscription during the war period there has been a healthy reaction, as Professor Gillin points out, against those few individuals who have attempted to exercise an autocratic control. In the recent campaigns in a number of cities for Community Chest Funds, care has been taken to enlist and maintain the confidence of the public not only in the integrity of the management but also in the representative character of the entire organization.

Possibly Professor Gillin's discussion of the function of the trained social worker is open to the interpretation that he regards the social worker as merely a hireling of the philanthropist who represents vested interests. Doubtless he did not intend to give this impression. Most social workers would not care to be placed in that category. It is probably more nearly correct to say that social workers are agents of democracy, specialists in activities affecting the common welfare, than it is to characterize them as the agents of vested interests. It is certainly true that modern philanthropy is turning to experienced social workers for guidance and direction. In an increasing measure the social workers of today are determining the ultimate public uses of accumulated wealth. In so far as this comes to be the fact of the matter, theirs is no mean responsibility.

The ideal of democracy probably ought to be interpreted even more broadly than Professor Gillin has here defined it. He refers to the extension of this ideal from political to industrial and finally to social democracy. Each of these forms, however, represents, as he describes them, an individualistic conception of democracy. The ideal of democracy today seems to include representation by groups as well as by individuals. There must be adequate recognition of group interests, else there is no complete democracy, it is said. The soviet in Russia illustrates this new conception of democracy. The drift toward proportional representation in this country may be said to be the American counterpart of soviet democracy. The organization of groups having common interests, such as wage-earners, employers, farmers, teachers, and other professional groups, for the purpose of securing proper recognition of their several interests, also offers

illustration of a new interpretation of industrial and social democracy. It will be necessary to consider philanthropic movements in relation to this new conception of democracy.

We seem to have passed through the period of the "tainted money" controversy, although there is still much of the confusion of thought with regard to contributions for philanthropic purposes which characterized that controversy. The question of what constitutes legitimate methods for the accumulation of a fortune obviously is one matter, while the question of the most advantageous uses to which accumulated wealth can be put in the interest of the common welfare is a wholly different matter. To discuss these two questions without regard to this distinction is wholly futile. The former of these questions has received more attention, more careful study and scientific analysis, than the latter. I urge that the latter receive more attention from sociologists. Contributions to this study have already been made by Dr. William H. Allen in his book entitled *Modern Philanthropy*, by Dr. Boris D. Bogen in his book on *Jewish Philanthropy*, and now by Professor Gillin in this paper under discussion. But the subject has by no means been exhaustively treated as yet. There is need for additional studies based on further research and analysis.

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD
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It can scarcely be necessary to prove to anyone that a crisis confronts religion in the modern world. Either sheer atheism or some new form of Christianity would seem to be the alternatives before the more advanced nations, with agnostic scientific positivism as a third possibility. A fourth possibility is, of course, that our whole civilization may revert to a lower level, and that older and cruder forms of religion may again become common. But this could scarcely occur until the foundations of the higher forms of religion had become sapped; while psychological reasons render improbable any widespread dissemination and popularization of an agnostic positivism. The practical alternatives before the modern world in a religious way would seem to be, therefore, radical irreligion or some more rationalized and socialized form of the religion of Jesus than has yet been attained. The final outcome of the religious revolution through which we are passing is not yet discernible, but the possibilities are, and it is time for thoughtful men to choose among these possibilities while they are still free to shape the future of religion.

The present crisis in the religious world has been brought about through the failure of existing religion to adapt itself to the two outstanding facts of modern civilization—science and democracy. It is not the business of this paper to discuss the failure of religion to adjust itself to modern science, but rather its failure to adjust itself to democracy and some of the changes which it needs to undergo in order to be in harmony with democracy.

Democracy, I take it, is the highest phase of social evolution—that phase in which the opinion and will of every man is respected and enters into the determination of social purposes and policies. Practically democracy means the coming of the common man into

his full rights as a member of society. It aims at substantial equality of rights and opportunities for all men. It knows no artificial distinctions, therefore, of caste or class, of race or blood; but it recognizes the potentially equal social worth of each man and would assign to each his position in accordance with his personal merit. The welfare of all, and not of any special class or group, is the aim of modern democracy. Its ultimate aim is nothing less, therefore, than an adequate life for all. And in this it differs radically from its spurious prototypes in the ancient world.

Such democracy is the only remedy for those class divisions, distrusts, and misunderstandings which threaten to tear our civilization asunder and defeat its aspirations. For there is nothing which unites and reconciles men more than that interpenetration of minds, that free exchange of ideas and ideals, that mutual understanding, which is necessary for the formation of a common or group will, which is in turn the essence of democratic living together.

Now the highest ethical religions have much in common with modern democracy. They have stood for practically the same ideals—the brotherhood of all men and the supreme value of the individual man. Cooley has shown that the common source of these ideals both of religion and of democracy is in the social experiences in the primary groups—the family and the neighborhood. The religion of Jesus is, indeed, essentially an attempt to take the sentiments, affections, and values which are naturally characteristic of the family and universalize them, making them the standard of social practice for all men in their relations one with another. Accordingly we may say that democracy is in the practical social realm the same movement as humanitarian religion and ethics in the realm of ideals.

We should expect, then, to find a close alliance between religion and democracy in modern society. If religion is sufficiently developed on its ethical side, and socially worth while, it will furnish the dynamic ideals which will make possible the realization of democracy. It will foster the sympathy, understanding, and good-will between individuals, classes, nations, and races which are necessary for the working of democracy.

Yet what do we find? It must be confessed that a careful survey of existing conventional religion—the religion of the average church member—in American society shows it often far from promoting democracy. I do not refer to such superficial facts as that we find the conventional idea of God often to be monarchical, though there is, of course, no warrant for such an idea of our relation to the Infinite in good theology or philosophy. Even science is coming to acknowledge that some measure of autonomy must reside within the individual. Nor do I refer to the fact that some churches are not organized democratically within themselves. This may impair their efficiency as agents for the promotion of democracy, but it is not the vital thing in their influence for or against democracy. The vital thing, and the fact to which I refer, is *the attitude of the religion taught by the churches toward the rights of the common man* and toward the great question of substantial equality of rights and opportunities in society for all men. Is the conventional religion taught by our churches successfully breaking down the barriers of artificial distinction between men, and uniting individuals, classes, nations, and races in bonds of mutual solidarity and good-will? The answer can only be that conventional religion is not very successful in so doing, and is apparently making little attempt to do so.

Let us consider first the relations between races. It is in these relations, no doubt, that democracy is put to the severest test; and it is here if anywhere that it needs the help of religious idealism. Democracy is doomed if it can offer no basis for a just and harmonious adjustment of the relations between races. In the United States, moreover, we have also the patriotic motive for desiring harmonious relations between races, because unity in our national household is imperative. Yet conventional religion has done, and is doing, little to solve the negro problem. For want of fundamental democracy in the relations between the races there is much evidence of growing antagonism and ill-will, as recent race riots and other disturbances witness. Yet conventional religion in American society has no program of justice for the negro as a basis for the harmonious and democratic adjustment of the relations of the races.

Equally has conventional religion failed to help effectively in maintaining democracy between economic classes. It has so far forgotten the rights of the common man that it has permitted great gulfs to exist between those of different economic status, not only as regards economic opportunities, but even as regards sympathy and understanding. It is no wonder that tension between classes is increasing under such circumstances. During recent industrial disturbances there has been so little of sympathy and good-will between the contending parties that a democratic settlement of the issues at stake by the creation of a common will has been practically impossible, though that is the only way that a question can be really settled in a democracy. Yet conventional religion in America has no program for justice between classes to serve as a basis for the adjustment of their conflicting interests. It is true that the farsighted leaders of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and other similar bodies have drawn up splendid programs of Christian democracy in industry. But conventional religion knows nothing of this. It has no vision of industrial democracy. Whatever idealism it may have seems scarcely to function in industrial relations.

Not less inadequate does conventional religion seem before the problem of international morality and of democratic relations between nations. The triumph of democracy is obviously bound up with the triumph of a democratic internationalism. National autonomy is threatened so long as there is not established international equality and good-will. As long as nations have to arm to the teeth to protect themselves from aggression by other nations, no proper attention can be paid to domestic questions, military expenditures will eat up public resources, and democracy cannot be realized. Militarism has always been the deadliest foe of democracy; but militarism cannot be ended as long as the relations between nations remain anarchic. The equal rights of nations not less than of individuals must be assured if democracy is to win out. To this end there must be developed not only an international mind and conscience but international organization and co-operation to carry out that conscience. It would seem that here, if anywhere, the idealism of religion ought to help. During

the war it seemed as if this ideal of a democratic internationalism was about to become realized, but no sooner was the armistice signed than national selfishness again came to the front. While we won the war in a military sense, we seem about to lose it in a moral sense. Religion, which helped to win the victories of the war, seems powerless to help win the greater and far more needed victories of peace. It is true that a majority of the clergy of practically all denominations have favored some sort of league of nations; but the rank and file of church members have remained indifferent, if not hostile, to the idea of a democratically united world. Conventional religion apparently prefers a divided world, in which national self-interest shall still be the guiding political principle. It is no wonder that national suspicion, hatred, and antagonism seem to find as much fertile soil now for their development as before the war.

When we turn to the intimate personal relations of individuals we find that even there conventional religion is proving a failure, if judged by the ideals of democracy. Our intimate social life in America is still far from democratic. On the contrary, it is divided up into strata, cliques, and exclusive circles, sometimes characterized by a snobbishness unsurpassed even in the stratified societies of Europe. Even in our family life we have not yet achieved democracy. The monarchic, autocratic type of the family has, to be sure, largely disappeared; but the democratic type of family based upon mutual love, respect for equality of personal rights, and a real union of wills has far from completely arrived. We have gotten rid of the autocratic family, but we have in its stead dominantly not a democratic type but an individualistic or anarchic type of the family. The religion of democracy, then, does not yet prevail as a controlling force even in the personal relations of individuals in American society.

An impartial commission of Japanese investigators has recently reported regarding religious conditions in America that "there is little evidence that the Christian religion is regarded as important by most of the people." The conclusion to which our survey points is not dissimilar. What religion there is in the mass of the American people seems to be mainly of the dogmatic emotional

rather than of the rational social type. Whatever it is, it is not the religion of Jesus. This may, of course, be thought by some to be another proof that the religion of Jesus is practically incapable of application in human affairs; that its standards and values are too out of harmony with original human nature and the natural composition of life to control effectively human conduct. It may be suggested, however, that the more probable reason for the failure of religion to work powerfully for the realization of democracy in all the relations of life is that the religion of Jesus has never been effectively taught nor even clearly presented to the mass of our people. What we have had is not true Christianity, but rather theological and ecclesiastical systems, intermingled with various degrees of emotional mysticism, which have masqueraded as Christianity. What we need is to have the social implications of the Gospels widely and effectively taught.

Here we may remark that one practical way in which religion may readily become adapted to democracy is for it to become socially intelligent. It is true that the main end of religion is to promote good-will rather than intelligence; but good-will cannot function unless it is intelligent. The content of religion is values and ideals, and these to be sound should rest upon adequate knowledge. Hence a sound social religion must be profoundly interested in promoting and diffusing social knowledge. Knowledge of social conditions, of vital social problems—such as the family, the labor problem, the negro problem—and sound social ideals should be taught in our Sunday schools. More important still, sociology should replace in large measure theology in the training of ministers of religion and religious leaders in our schools and seminaries. Thus could our religion be made the very bulwark of our democracy; and thus would religion itself receive a new birth, because it would become more fully alive to its social mission and purpose.

In conclusion, let us acknowledge that democracy needs sane religion not less than religion needs to be democratized. An atheistic, materialistic democracy could only end in an internecine struggle of egoistic groups and individuals. Democracy for its harmonious working requires more good-will, more social intelligence and character in the individual, than any other form of

society. It requires, therefore, that its social values be brought to the individual in the intensest way. It requires faith in man, and so faith in the universe—not a blind, irrational faith, but one which is essentially a projection and universalization of those social values upon which democracy itself is built, such as brotherhood, liberty, equality, and mutual service. Democracy must find these values to be not "socially imposed delusions," but parts of an objective, significant world-order. Democracy, in other words, like every other form of human culture, to be a success must evolve its own appropriate religion.

DISCUSSION

E. A. ROSS, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A friend of mine was ascending Mount Morrison in Formosa with a large party of savages. Learning that the chief had a bad headache, my friend sent him a dose of bromo-seltzer. When they met, the chief reported that the medicine was "no good." It appeared that, regarding it as a kind of charm, he had rolled it in a rag and *hung it about his neck instead of swallowing it*. I imagine that Christianity has "failed" for the same reason that the headache medicine failed. It has been taken *externally* instead of *internally*.

The tendency of Christianity to become "conventional," as Professor Ellwood calls it, is not difficult to account for. In some parts of China, on the grave of the departed the mourners burn paper effigies of bullocks, calves, and other live stock. Once they sacrificed the animals themselves; but, finding this too expensive, they hit upon the device of offering paper effigies of the beasts of sacrifice. Now for the same reason the religion of Jesus tends continually to turn into "conventional" Christianity. The latter is *cheaper*. I do not mean cheaper in money (Christianity often goes in for costly services and sanctuaries), but cheaper in the sacrifice of inclination. It is a vastly greater strain on average human nature to be a disciple of Jesus than to be a conventional Christian.

I suppose that all students of society would accept something like this as the formula for social progress: *The maximizing of harmony and co-operation and the minimizing of hostility and conflict*. Now when you stop to think of it, is it not wonderful that in the Gospels we find provided just the religion which is best suited to realize the sociologists' ideal? From the point of view of improvement in human relations, humanity has in this religion an asset of indescribable value. What an infinite pity that, at a time when pugnacity and greed have filled the world with woe and bid fair to keep it on the rack

for a long time to come, the churches should offer men the religion of obedience, propitiation, self-ingratiation, and safety, instead of the message of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man!

ALLAN HOBEN, CARLETON COLLEGE

Since the religion of Jesus is called into question in this discussion and since it and its main ethical source, Judaism, represent almost the total religious impact upon American democracy, I feel that I can best use the few moments allotted by attempting to sketch what seems to me the value of the religion of Jesus for an evolving democracy. In doing this one must go back of ecclesiasticism and theological speculation to the Jesus of history. And while we have not adopted and perhaps dare not adopt his ethics in full, we may, nevertheless, canvass its potentiality for democracy. Furthermore, it is in the field of principle only and not in the field of technique that we may hope to discover his contribution.

The first point to be considered is his unique valuation of persons as such. He raised this to a place of sanctity and in his own practice made it independent of wealth, class, race, and misdemeanor. He permitted no wall or barrier against those who would rise or who would reform. That principle has been implicit in all democratic movements and, indeed, very explicit in the struggle for common rights and in the establishment of this Republic. Take, for example, the offending classes—by his doctrine of forgiveness and recovery he makes more likely their restoration to ethical and social acceptability. Or take his estimate of childhood, its rights and opportunities—this test of the degree of religion possessed by his immediate followers was concretely in terms of their reception and care of little children. A sanctity inhered there, the progress of the race rested there, the principle of fairness of opportunity was thus involved in his valuation of persons, and, if we may put it so, of potential persons. Hence in his code whatever made for life was good and whatever made against life was evil. By that principle he classified the use of wealth and of all other forms of power.

This primary democratic attitude leads necessarily to his second thesis, namely, the obligation to use all of one's ability for the welfare of mankind. Viewed in the light of this aspect of his teaching I am not willing to admit that the religion of Jesus is not easily adjustable to the processes and findings of science. Ecclesiasticism and dogma may not be, but his central tenet of the obligation to serve mankind operates as a regal principle to stimulate free research, invention, and technique for the great end that holds true in his religion, viz., the benefit of mankind. Nor should I admit that, at the present time, organized Christianity is unfriendly toward or repressive of scientific process. Those conflicts are past and the very institutions founded by Christian effort are going forward in the unimpeded pursuit of scientific knowledge

which certainly makes for freedom and life. The vast effort expended in educational and medical missions transcending all race barriers and not dedicated primarily to doctrinal propaganda constitute sound evidence of the fact that the church in part realizes the urge of his principle of service and carries across national and racial barriers those practical proofs of that good will by which alone the wider democracy may be realized.

Of course the case is much more difficult as we move into the area of organized groups. Then we face the difficulty of the common departure of the group—be it a nation, a corporation, a labor union, or a church—from the primary religion of Jesus. Concern for the value of personality and regulation by primary concern for human welfare make the group Christian, and when it is Christian in this ethical sense it is *ipso facto* democratic.

Now as for the church, while we deplore the expense and inefficiency of sectarianism, we must at the same time grant that it is the legitimate outcome and proof patent of the working of the democratic principle of religious freedom. This freedom was sought and won by ardent followers of Jesus. The fact that it is misused conforms to what happens with an accession of freedom in any realm. While it must be granted that partly because of this confusion the church may in part frustrate united community action and in the great industrial centers fails largely in her ministry, nevertheless the case for the whole church, all of her activities considered, goes to the side of democracy. Among the great organizations of society the church ranks very high in the range and worth of her sympathies.

The credit list includes the constant presentation of a humane philosophy of life, the maintenance of the democratic experience of common worship, the celebration of the Mass as experienced by the worshipers, who are themselves on a basis of equality as persons, the promotion of neighborliness among groups which in the aggregate represent the largest regular voluntary assemblages to be found in the land, the fortifying of moral gains by religious sanction, making retrogression unlikely. And here I often wonder whether those who are bent on what we should and might accomplish socially often reflect on what we might become in terms of brute competition without the service of the church in inculcating and conserving the virtues upon which democracy is possible.

Included in the list also is the stimulation of moral responsibility. The pathetic faith of reformers that, if only the better way is pointed out, it will be automatically adopted by people often proves false in practice. There has to be the almighty "ought" making people very uncomfortable inwardly if they refuse the better way. Else you have the spurious democracy of doing what one "darn sees fit." I believe that the church is a mighty asset to true democracy in this important respect, and that, while not wholly successful, it is doing much to save us from that moral bankruptcy which would make all schemes of adjustment null and void.

Begining in 1908 the Protestant churches, speaking collectively through their Federal Council, went on record favoring every fundamental reform in industry. Latterly we have the declarations of the bishops of the Church of England, the Quakers, the Roman Catholic bishops of this country, and practically every representative religious body meeting since the war, issuing strong statements in behalf of social and economic justice. And all of these are fairly specific. The fact that every individual church does not declare *instanter* and in oracular fashion a verdict on each local or general conflict should not be taken to mean nothing but cowardice. In the open forum the church is evolving a better and more democratic method whereby the champions of the conflicting groups may present their respective cases in an atmosphere of good will and before meetings which come nearer to representing all the people.

Lastly, in this matter of representing all the people, while we must deplore the degree of stratification to be found in those churches which surround but are not immersed in our industrial centers, we must at the same time and for the sake of even judgment remember that in all of the smaller communities and throughout the open country the church is very democratic in its personnel — in fact, it is the most democratic and the most patronized social agency of a voluntary character in the small town, the village, and the open country. It is imperfect. It is retarded. It may sometimes be commandeered to unworthy ends, but it is undergoing an ethical revival by virtue of which the religion of Jesus which is the illuminated soul of democracy will find more adequate expression.

DO WE NEED THE CHURCH?¹

DURANT DRAKE
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At this moment of general interest in reconstruction, it is timely to examine again the work of the church. There is considerable hostility to the church abroad, not a little sneering at its pretensions, and a widespread impatience at its lack of leadership in the moral crises of the age. So many of the ablest and gentlest of our people remain outside its ministrations, in spite of continued efforts to bring them into the fold, that we may be sure all is not as it should be. We must seriously consider whether we really need a church. Is it a necessary institution, like the school? Just what does it exist for, what is the good of it?

The point of view of this paper is that the church has a three-fold function to perform in our society, which may be labeled its inspirational, its educational, and its social functions—these three, and the greatest of these is the inspirational function.

The church exists, first and foremost, in the traditional phrase, to "save souls"—to save each individual whom it can reach, if by any means it can save him, from the pitfalls of life, from his blindness and weakness, from the many dangerous influences that play upon him, from all sorts of false ideals and distorted conceptions of value. To put it positively, the church exists to steer and push men into living aright. There is a way that saves, a solution for the baffling problem of human life; the church exists to hold up to men that ideal, that vision, to mold the undirected, or misdirected energies of men, to actualize their latent potentialities of good, to stir in them a best which they might not otherwise have known was in them. It exists to rouse men continually out of their torpor, to keep alive in them the sense of the importance of common duties, and make them care to keep true. No

¹This paper was not read as a part of the program.

more important task could be conceived. The one thing that will save this nation and the world is that men shall be trained to have a conscience and an unselfish intent. No other widespread institution exists to this end. It is the prime duty and privilege of the Christian church, in the Western countries at least, to undertake this supreme task.

There is, however, one great blunder that has beset this task of moral guidance and done much to negative the value of the church. That is the error of letting men suppose that "salvation" can be effected *for* them by a supernatural power, and that once salvation is effected they have but to congratulate themselves and give thanks. This complacency and expectation of miracle we must vigorously combat. Salvation is not so lightly attained. It requires earnest effort and long perseverance in well-doing; and, though it be true that it is the power of God that saves, we must remember that God helps those who help themselves. Moreover, salvation, observably, is a matter of degrees. No one is enough saved. The traditional dichotomy—sheep on one side of the fence, goats on the other—is unreal; it is not only inconsonant with the spirit of democracy and fair play, it is hopelessly out of touch with psychology, or, for that matter, with every-day observation. There is no privileged caste of the elect. No one can tell when his feet may lead him into the paths of sin. However safe from stumbling we may feel ourselves, we must not slacken our effort; eternal vigilance is the price of salvation.

We cannot, then, too bluntly say that there is no intrinsic value in baptism, in joining the church and partaking of its communion, in confessing Christ, saying one's prayers, or attending services. These are but so many means to the end of cleansing and strengthening the will, and valuable only if and in so far as they actually serve that end. It is of no use for a church to point to the number of its communicants or to a large attendance at worship; the only ultimate test of its success is, What kind of people is it making out of these? Many who perform these rites and ceremonies are not thereby saved, either from making a sorry mess of their own lives or from helping to make a mess of our corporate life. Hence we must beware, of all things most, the

substitution of unction in churchmanship for unselfishness and purity of conduct in the week-day life. The task of the church is not to get members, it is to Christianize them. And except as it succeeds in actually making them live in the Christian way, it has failed in its job.

The second of the three functions of the church I have labeled the educational function. The church exists, we are told, to teach men the truth about religion and kindred matters. This is, no doubt, a less important function of the church than in the days before we had so many books and periodicals, when the minister was almost the only educated man in the community, and the church, for the mass of people, almost the sole educational institution. But even now the schools are not free to teach along these lines, and there are many who read little. For millions the church is the chief source of ideas on the ultimate problems of human life.

The church must certainly beware of supposing that correct theological beliefs are anywhere near as important as right conduct. However interesting and absorbing are the questions concerning the origin and governance of the universe, the nature of God, the person of Christ, or the destiny of the human soul, these matters are not, after all, of prime practical importance. One can be as good a Christian without so much as giving them a thought; they have no actual bearing upon the question, What is the best way to live? What is more, too much emphasis upon them tends to crowd out the main thing, which is to live aright. Convictions we must, indeed, have—light, intelligence, insight, as well as inspiration. But the important convictions are convictions about what we ought to do. We can safely let the universe run itself and concern ourselves with running properly our own little lives. Thus when we speak of the educational function of the church we should have in mind primarily her work in spreading insight into the true values in human life.

The danger, however, lies not merely in diverting interest from moral-spiritual valuations to historical-cosmological theories, but in teaching these theories as if they were unquestionable verities. The old notion that we have a sure, revealed deposit

of truth, of which the church is the custodian, must be definitely abandoned. Doctrines are merely someone's personal opinions, handed down to us and accepted by the majority in a church. They are only theories, conjectures, attempts to express and explain what has largely been beyond men's comprehension. The teaching of theology should therefore be not propaganda, not indoctrination, but study, discussion, a tentative, humble seeking after truth.

Here we touch upon what is perhaps the church's greatest sin, the sin of encouraging the closed mind, the spirit of dogmatism, instead of urging open-mindedness and the critical spirit. Men have been asked to believe thus and so simply because such was the inherited teaching of the church. This is putting shackles on the mind. In so far as the church has encouraged people to give their assent, without searching inquiry, to doctrines whose truth is sincerely questioned by any considerable number of intelligent men, she has done a grave disservice to democracy. But not only has she taught questionable opinions as certain, she has attempted to inoculate her members with such an assurance with regard to them that they shall be immune to opposing arguments. By emotional influences she has stifled the murmurings of the intellect. The result is that the whole course of modern thought has been confused, and few, if any, modern philosophers have attained to the intellectual clarity of the Greeks. The fact that a man belongs to a church is widely taken to show that he has an uncritical mind. To "teach the truth" is, in short, too presumptuous a phrase. The church must get a humbler conception of her mission and be content to try, by open discussion and scholarly study, to lead men gradually nearer and nearer to the truth. With this revision of her claims the educational function of the church can be said to be valuable and important.

There remains to be emphasized what I have called the social function of the church. Christianity is, above everything else, the religion of service. This concern for one's own soul that has figured so much in ecclesiastical discussion is, after all, but a sublimated form of self-seeking. The true Christian is concerned not so much with saving himself as with saving the world. It is far

more Christian an activity to be opposing political graft or the inhumane treatment of employees, to be standing hard against the spirit of greed in business, the spirit of violence and lawlessness, or the wanton luxury of the rich, to be seeking to root out wrongs and improve social relationships, than to be repeating the Apostles' Creed or singing hymns.

The social work of the church must not, of course, displace its inspirational and educational work. It must not degenerate into a mere giving of good times to people. But certainly the commandment to love your neighbor as yourself demands that the church be a center for every sort of needed service. Should it not, indeed, be the greatest of all forces making for that regenerated social order, wherein God's will is to be fully expressed, which it has steadily looked forward to under the name of the Kingdom of God on earth?

To sum up, then, the church should be a great educational institution, giving the great mass of common people insight, as it can find it, into the meaning and mystery of life, and a clear apprehension of their real needs and duties. It should patiently, week by week, train its members in the performance of these duties. It should be a center for friendship and human sympathy, a means of ministry to the community, a standing rebuke to the sins of the world, and a lever for attack upon all forms of sin and wrong.

The critics of the church say that these tasks are not being adequately performed; that the church is hugging to itself an antiquated mass of superstition, is lost in the performance of mere rites and ceremonies, is not making a great, sustained effort to realize the Christian ideal either in the more personal or in the more widely social relationships of life. But certainly the emphasis has shifted in recent years. All religions tend to pass through three stages—from an emphasis upon cult to an emphasis upon belief, and thence finally to an emphasis upon conduct. So it is with our church. Her traditional rites and ceremonies have their value as symbols, clothing the simple aspirations and duties of the Christian life with solemnity and giving them historical background. Her creeds are stepping-stones on the long road to truth. But the criterion of her usefulness is more and

more coming to be recognized as the degree in which she permeates with Christian idealism the personal and social life of the communities in which she exists.

To be sure, we might approve this aim but think other means adequate and perhaps better for its attainment. There are many roads outside the church that lead toward this same goal. A man may cultivate his religious life by reading inspirational books, by solitary prayer and meditation, by well-chosen friendships, or other *ad hoc* organizations. These methods offer the great advantage that the man can choose what best helps him, instead of being obliged to listen to pulpit-utterances that perhaps bore and perhaps annoy him; he can pick his own time for spiritual converse, instead of following the clock.

But the first question to ask is, *Will he really do these things?* Here and there a man, or a woman, will. Such a one can perhaps get on well enough without the church. But few there are who, in the rush of affairs, in the midst of the seductive richness of modern life, will attend, of their own volition, regularly and at sufficient length to the needs of the spirit. How many people who do not go to church make a practice of reading religious books or of daily prayer? Cultivating spirituality takes time; and unless regular, definite hours are reserved for it the chances are almost overwhelming that presently no time at all will be given. Religion easily becomes choked and crowded out of the heart, like Darwin's love of poetry. That preacher had a true insight, though an uncertain command of metaphor, who prayed, "If there is a spark of religion in any half-believing heart, water it, O Lord, water it!"

Moreover, there are few people who can find the springs of spirituality when by themselves. For most men there is inspiration in numbers; they need to feel themselves part of a great movement. The crowd-impulse is a tremendous dynamic, as we see in the case of patriotism, or, in an evil way, in the case of lynchings; it should be utilized to the full for religion. Even if a man is unconscious of this social influence bearing upon him, it is there; and if the churches should disappear the most solitary saint would feel the loss.

Then, quite apart from the abstract argument, there is the fact that the church actually has a tremendous hold upon masses of people. Far the larger part of the aspiration and upward-pushing forces of the Western World for the last nineteen hundred years have been enrolled under her banner. This historic continuity, this roll-call of heroes and martyrs, gives background and atmosphere to our spiritual life—"an hereditary foundation of revered memories, ideas, habits, sentiments, associations, deep-rooted in the heart." Just as an artist turns to the old masters for inspiration, we need to turn to the great masters of the spiritual life. And, obviously, for effective social ministry, there must be organization.

For many of those who go gladly to church it is, indeed, more for the social pleasure than for any serious purpose. One meets there one's friends, there are warm handclasps, there is music, and rest; it is a welcome break in the week's routine. But even for those who go in this spirit there is a chance that they will catch some higher spirit from those who come there to seek and express it. Most people who have discovered in themselves spiritual aspirations have caught them at some church service somewhere. And for those who have found springs elsewhere, there are few but can profit also from the fellowship of the church. The church is the great force that brings men together in common aspiration and common service. There at least they need not be shamefaced to talk of spiritual things; there they can feel that others are caring for them too and endeavoring to put them into practice. A man should come out of her hallowed precincts with his own resolves redoubled and his weakness put to shame from the sight of the earnestness and consecration of others.

There are many probably who would never have dreamed of the possibility of a better life had the church not summoned them to it with her patient insistence; there are surely many more who would become too distracted by the pressure of practical affairs, or by the lure of the immediate and the pleasurable, to realize outwardly their private dreams, were it not for her continual reminders. There are hidden reservoirs of power, latent aspirations and possibilities, in most of us that are never discovered or

drawn upon; no man but is a potential hero if you can touch the right spring in his nature; and even the criminal would have done some splendid service if his interest had been early turned in the right direction and his energies rightly guided.

Men are suggestible creatures, they are the prey of a thousand influences that stream from the people they meet, the newspapers they read, the words they hear. The church at its best is a powerful source of suggestion drawing them toward the highest things. The words of the preacher, who has given his life to the study of the human heart and its needs, bringing to his hearers well-worn ideas, perhaps, but put in new ways and applied to current problems; the joining in prayer and song—the whole atmosphere of the church is a strong counterweight to the many downward-dragging influences of their daily environment. Whatever we may call it, there will always be a need of some organization to do for men what the Christian church, blunderingly and more or less blindly, but still often with great effectiveness, has done.

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING A DEMOCRACY

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DEMOCRACY AN UNATTAINABLE IDEAL

The most common error in the consideration of democracy is that of thinking of it as an idea rather than as an ideal. Consequently it is taken for granted that it is attainable. A religious crusader, a political reformer, or a social zealot gets hold of a democratic idea and sets out to establish a democracy. If his program, for example, the freedom of the individual to worship as he chooses, the establishment of manhood suffrage, or the abolition of slavery, is carried out his mind becomes muddled because the millennium of democracy he sought does not appear. In reality what he was pursuing was only one of the whole constellation of democratic ideas out of which the democratic ideal is compounded.

To be more specific the ideal of democracy breaks up into a series of ideas concerning political, economic, social, and cultural conditions and activities. Few of us can rightly even profess to be democratic in all of these fields. The individual whose ideas of political machinery are most democratic may have very hazy notions of industrial democracy, or the crusader against social classes may have little conception of democracy as applied to cultural opportunities. The advocate of religious freedom and tolerance often objects to the growing tendency toward democratic management of domestic affairs, and the most enthusiastic voter for political equality not infrequently balks at the expense of providing equal educational opportunities for the sons and daughters of all the people. Before any great progress toward establishing a democratic society can be made the varied prevalent ideas of democracy must be generally diffused and molded into social programs which will mutually reinforce each other. Even then the ideal can only be approached instead of being attained. Each

new level of accomplishment reached will merely clarify and broaden the vision of more inviting but not less difficult democratizing programs still to be undertaken.

It would scarcely be denied that in each of the broad fields of human endeavor the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural democratic ideas and machinery are multiplying all about us. Nor is it necessary to remind a group of sociologists of the foundational nature of education in all of these movements. No democratic state can succeed or long exist without an educated electorate. Economic democracy can only be approached as a vocational education which will train every citizen to do some kind of effective work is made universal. Social stratification based upon hereditary privileges and advantages can be speedily undermined only by the education of the masses. And culture, as typified by taste for the fine arts can be universalized only through instruction and popular access to art treasures. Just what form of education will best promote democratization in each of these fields may be a matter for controversy; but that rapid progress depends upon the efficiency of public education is seldom questioned.

While there has been no lack of discussion of education for democracy few have realized the implications and complexities of the problem. So crude is our thought upon the subject that any sort of an educational program embodying the essentials of a democratic training would be deemed visionary and radical. Nevertheless it may be worth our while to isolate some of the fundamentals and face the issues suggested. To my mind there are five of these fundamental elements entering into the problem which require elucidation.

DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS POSSIBLE ONLY IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The first of these is that a democratic school environment is a necessary part of a democratic education. Publicists are generally agreed that there can be no democratic society without democratic education; but few have emphasized the counter-proposition that there can be no democratic education without a democratic society outside the schools. It would be just as futile to talk of a demo-

cratic state with an autocratic government as to expect a democratic educational system in an oligarchical society. Indeed no institution is more reciprocally bound up with the machinery and spirit of other institutions than is the school. This will be made evident from an analysis of the educative process.

In the sociological sense education is the process of training the young and initiating them into the society of the mature. Whatever is used either incidentally or deliberately to give this training must be recognized as education. We therefore have the informal education of experience and the formal education of the schools. Informal education is embodied in the folkways and *mores*, the accumulated customs and traditions and organized institutions which form the social heredity of the young. Every kind of environmental pressure imposed upon the plastic youth through the channels of sympathetic radiation, imitation, and suggestion exercises a molding influence upon his nature and activities. Thus the child becomes a part of all he meets and tends to take upon himself the character of the social influences about him. Much of this informal education is unconscious and hence is not controllable by conscious organization. Since it is largely given by other institutions than the school it will be democratic only in proportion as those other institutions are themselves democratic.

No scientific attempt to evaluate this informal education has been made, nor is it possible to measure it with the data at hand. We can, however, get at some of the bases for a common-sense judgment. Quantitatively the child is in school 5 hours a day for an average of 160.3 days a year, and the average pupil does not go beyond the sixth or seventh grade. In our most favored localities school is in session only a little over half of the days in the year. Even during this half the social forces clustering about the home, the neighborhood playgrounds, and community enterprises are constantly at work. The movies, the library, the Sunday school, the swimming-hole, the gang, Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, sledding, nutting, and picnic parties, bicycle and automobile trips, visits to the city or country—a thousand and one impinging impressions compete with those of the school in fixing the habits and molding the character of the boy and girl. If these forces have

their influence during the 160-3 school days what shall we say of them during the other 205 days in the year? Moreover, if we insist that school training will carry over into the vacation periods we must expect these outside influences to carry over into the school.

A qualitative analysis of the youthful mind does little to undermine the conclusions from a quantitative analysis. Where does the boy get his language, his taste in reading, music, and art, his manners and dress, his ability to lead and follow, and his political, social, and moral ideals? It should readily be admitted that life within the schools affects all of these qualities, but no one knows better than the teacher how hard it is to overcome the impressions of an unfavorable home or social environment. If the boy uses incorrect or vile language at home and on the street the chances are that the best school training will not eradicate it. If out of school he is blatant, impertinent, and overbearing, or reticent, bashful, and weak-willed, it is unfair to expect that he be made over inside the schools. If he is lazy, slovenly, and unambitious elsewhere he will probably not be materially different in his school work. Orderly habits and moral ideals are matters of slow development to which the schools must contribute but for which other institutions must be held jointly accountable. When aristocratic ideas are promulgated in the home, reinforced on the playground, accepted in the church, and acted upon in business and social relations, no democratic associations on the school grounds nor teachings from the classroom can avail to create a democratic citizenship. Even if the schools could be fully democratized they could not bring up a race of pure democrats.

But there are special reasons why the schools cannot be appreciably more democratic than other parts of society. The first of these is that the school is a conserving as well as a creative institution. Through it society plans to preserve and perpetuate the culture already attained. Consequently the public is wary of innovation and the teacher who uses too much freedom of thought or violates cultural traditions meets speedy condemnation. Open radicalism is not tolerated in the public's school. In the second place the processes of social selection have operated to bring into

the teaching ranks a conservative class of people. This is due to a number of factors, including high initial wages, social respectability, and the traditional and bookish nature of the curriculum. In the third place the teachers are educated informally as well as formally, and naturally reflect the opinions, attitudes, and ideals of society. Finally, the content of school studies exemplified in textbooks, laboratory materials, and library references is, because of its sifted and selected nature and the large returns to publishers who meet the popular demand, certain to be conservative in its influence. All of these things retard the advance of democracy in the schools and tend to keep them in harmony with traditions.

Summarizing, it should be evident that informal education plays a part no less vital in the training of the young than formal education. For the vast majority of the people it would seem to be even more dominant than the schools in the emotional realms which lie back of character formation. If the society which provides this educative experience is not fully democratized it is useless to expect a democratic citizenship. Moreover, since the conserving function of the schools keeps the mind of the teacher and pupils focused mainly upon the past it is inevitable that school organization and teaching content and methods will remain conservative in nature. A well-managed public-school system must and will reflect the educational ideals of the people and hence cannot be appreciably more democratic than the social environment which it reflects and must prepare the pupils to enter.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION MUST BE GUARANTEED

The second fundamental in educating a democracy is to guarantee that all shall be educated. This would seem to be axiomatic, yet prior to the last half-century few ever conceived the possibility of educating the masses. Democratic Athens never got beyond the ideal of educating those who were to be citizens, leaving in ignorance the 85 or 90 per cent who were not citizens. In the medieval and early modern period "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" were considered incapable of education. Even in our own day those who think of education only in terms of

linguistic, mathematical, and bookish learning despair of that large class of boys and girls who care not for the printed page and despise the virtues of the scholar. Indeed, until our schools gain a broader outlook and more specific aims and fill their curricula with a more vital content than they have at present, we may as well frankly face the fact that a large share of our young people are not going to be deeply affected by their offerings.

While we have a right to be proud of our public schools as the most characteristic product of American democracy we were rudely shocked in the assembling of our national army to find that nearly 10 per cent were illiterate. We ought to be more shocked that our standard of measurement is so crude an instrument as the literacy test. The average normal six-year-old child is supposed to accomplish that much in six months. No democracy can thrive on mere literacy, and even by that test we are found wanting! That we are rapidly removing illiteracy and hope to conquer it within a generation is to our credit; but the ability to read and write is the mere preliminary to an intelligent citizenship. That we may not be oversanguine it may be well to remember that in 1916 only 75.81 per cent of our school population was enrolled in our public schools and that in Louisiana only 55.91 per cent was enrolled.

Probably the most outstanding lesson of the world-war is that the shibboleth of individual liberty which so long held us in its thrall is no longer sufficient. It has been weighed in the balances of public opinion and found wanting in both peace and war. Everywhere in our increasingly complex and interdependent society the ideal of socialization is taking its place. With reference to education we are realizing that intelligence alone can be trusted to maintain and improve our social heritage and hence the question of education can no longer be regarded as an individual matter but must be accepted as a social responsibility. The nation should see to it that every child has not merely the opportunity to get whatever educational training he is able to assimilate but that he be compelled to take it. Compulsory school laws must be made universal and more effective than they have been in the past. No state can safely be permitted on the basis of state control to stand in the way of progress and national safety by allowing its

children to grow up in ignorance. When we found the doctrine of state rights in the way of freeing the slaves we modified that doctrine. It now stands in the pathway of educational advance, not more in the South than in the North and West. Our next forward step should be to modify it in the field of education by centralizing its control in the federal government so that we can mobilize our educational forces and make an efficient education a universal democratic American birthright.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES MUST BE EQUALIZED

The third fundamental in educating a democracy is to see that comparatively equal educational opportunities are provided for all. This again would seem to be axiomatic, yet any sort of program by which it could be accomplished would require a revolution in both public sentiment and school expenditure. This will be evident from an examination of the present status and needs of our public schools and higher education.

With reference to the public schools, equality of opportunity requires, in the first place, that there be equality in the length of the school term. At present the school year varies from four to ten months. The state averages range from 123 days in Mississippi to 194.3 days in Rhode Island. In Kansas rural and city inequality is fixed by a state law which requires that rural children spend nine years doing what city children do in eight years. Manifestly the child in the remote districts who has access to only four or six months of school during the year has not the same opportunity as the child who is offered nine or ten months of continuous instruction. Before educational democracy can be seriously approached this most obvious discrimination must be remedied.

In the second place, the type of teacher and the amount of equipment vary as widely as the length of the school year. In Texas nearly 80 per cent of the teachers are mere elementary-school graduates, while in many other states all must be high-school graduates or even normal-school or college graduates. The average monthly salaries of teachers in 1916 ranged from \$37.99 in Mississippi to \$113.46 in California. In regard to equipment some schools are abundantly supplied with libraries and laboratories

while others have none. Some children must go to school in shacks while others are housed in educational palaces. The annual expense per child in 1916 varied from \$9.30 in Mississippi to \$86.36 in Montana, the per capita cost to the population being \$1.48 in Mississippi and \$14.14 in Montana. Allowing for the widest actual variation in the cost of running schools it is scarcely possible that democracy of opportunity lurks in permitting one state to spend less than one-ninth as much on the education of each of its future citizens as another state spends.

In the third place, inconvenience of access to schools or poverty and misfortune must not be allowed to stand in the way of reasonable educational opportunities. This requires proper location of school buildings and in sparsely settled districts free transportation of pupils. The handicap of poverty is being tentatively recognized by the provision of free textbooks, free health clinics, free lunches in certain places, mothers' pensions, and in many instances free clothing when shown to be necessary. To what extent parental responsibility should be weakened by this benevolent paternalism may be open to debate, but that democracy of opportunity demands its extension beyond anything yet undertaken in our most progressive cities is unquestioned. Furthermore, facilities for educating defectives such as the blind, the deaf, and the mental weaklings must be further developed and paid for by the public rather than by individuals.

The final consideration with reference to the public schools is the total amount of training to be made available to all. If the eight grades of the elementary school is to be the minimum standard considered necessary as a basis of intelligent citizenship, then every child should have access to eight full years instruction of not less than nine months each. If high-school graduation is to be expected as a reasonable minimum, and the rapid growth of our high schools would indicate that the public is gradually approaching such a standard, then full-time high schools must be made accessible to every normal youth. In 1916, however, fourteen times as many pupils were enrolled in the elementary schools as were enrolled in the high schools. To provide as fully for high-school attendance as we now provide for the grades it would be

necessary to multiply by seven the high-school facilities now existing. Such an educational program may seem heroic, but to expect an intelligent management of democracy on less training than that offered in our high schools is unmitigated folly.

With reference to higher education we are even farther from democracy. Lester F. Ward convincingly argued that talent and genius inhere almost equally in all classes of society. Certainly in our day no one would claim that economic status or social rank is a test either of social worth or cultural ability. A democracy interested in its own advancement can no more afford to waste its genius than it can afford to waste its material resources. Hence it is necessary to see that the poor boy with ambition and ability have the same access as the scion of wealth to our advanced institutions of learning. The way must be paved for all alike to the higher realms of culture, scholarship, and research.

While a complete recognition of the necessity of such a program seems remote, the means for its practical attainment are still farther in the future. Underlying our agricultural and mechanical colleges, state normal schools, and state and municipal universities, however, is some such ideal. That the paying public does not fully accept the ideal is indicated by the fact that in self-defense most of them are compelled to charge tuition. If learning is really to be democratized there is no more reason for charging tuition in the higher institutions of the state than in the elementary grades and the high schools. Church colleges and endowed universities liberally supplement state institutions but charge even higher tuitions and both together form merely a beginning. The habit of providing numerous free scholarships and fellowships is growing but they will permanently be insufficient in number and discriminating in character. A virile educational democracy cannot be builded upon philanthropic donations however carefully the largess may be shielded from any taint of condescension or patronage.

The situation with reference to vocational and technical schools is not materially different from that of collegiate institutions. It would be manifestly unfair to provide free medical, law, and engineering schools until those professions are fully socialized without

at the same time providing free training for other vocations. The time is at hand, however, when the public will realize that its chief protection from inefficient work of all sorts lies in more effective occupational education. When we learn how to give as good educational training for manual labor as we now give for professional service and then demand that it be taken before jobs are offered we shall have made our first serious approach to the solution of the labor problem. We have spent millions of dollars and much thought on the education of a select few for the professions and only thousands of dollars and little thought on the education of the many tradesmen who are now stirring up trouble. Labor unrest is merely a symptom of the manual workers' struggle upward, and the amount of radical aggression we may expect in the future will be in proportion to the wisdom with which we meet his demands for more equal recognition of the value of his services in pay, improved working conditions, and opportunities for economic, social, and cultural advancement. The gulf between master and slave, overlord and serf, capitalist and laborer, has been continually narrowing, and the end is not yet. In short, economic efficiency requires trained workers and democracy demands that these workers, whether at white-collar or blue-denim jobs, have comparatively equal opportunities for specialized occupational education.

**EDUCATIONAL CONTENT MUST BE VARIED TO MEET
INDIVIDUAL NEEDS**

The fourth fundamental in the education of a democracy is that the type of education offered should be adapted to the nature and abilities of the individuals to be educated. During the past few generations the clientèle of our schools has undergone a remarkable transformation. Formerly the schools existed for the aristocracy and they alone were to be considered in the making of our curricula. They desired a specialized education fitting them for leisure-class pursuits, and classroom instruction was adapted to that end. As education moved down the social ladder admitting the well-to-do business classes to its benefits, variations in the fixed classical program had to be made to meet their needs. In recent

years, however, the masses, the so-called common people, have gained access to our schools, and now their children constitute a vast majority of the pupils. As each new social class has come into the schools it has been confronted with a traditional curriculum prepared especially for the social ranks above; hence the curriculum is always behind the needs of the time. We are continually admitting new classes into our schools or into higher grades of instruction whose home environment and social heritage make them, to a large degree, contemptuous of the type of culture we try to force them to accept. They have voracious appetites for a crude intellectual pabulum which we try to satisfy with refined tidbits of culture, carefully selected and often denatured, and they will have none of it. Before we can really educate this proletariat, we must find an abundance of the sort of intellectual nutriment they can assimilate.

To get at the problem involved in devising a school program adapted to all classes of our society it may be well to divide the curriculum into three grades or levels of advancement. First come the tools of learning, such as reading, writing, and numbers. A ready command of these tools must be given as a basis for other educational advances, and it can be given to all but a very small percentage of the most defective. Second comes a reasonable degree of knowledge and training in the sciences, arts, and social traditions of the race. This is embodied in such studies as geography, arithmetic, history and civics, hygiene and physical training, literature, music, etc. If properly handled these fundamentals of our social heritage may be given in differing amounts to all who are able to acquire the tool subjects enumerated above. The third level of education lies above and beyond and consists of whatever cultural and vocational training can be organized into educational forms. It is the realm of education formerly reserved for the select few who were ambitious, economically able, or socially favored.

Concerning the first and second levels of education a consensus of opinion is already established. It is that every prospective citizen should not only have access to them but should be compelled, in so far as his ability will permit, to achieve them. It is with respect to the third level that opinions differ and the demands

of democracy must be presented. Several questions immediately arise which need to be answered.

The first of these questions is in regard to the amount of education the masses of our young people are capable of taking with profit. Is it possible that some of our children ought to quit school at fourteen years of age and others continue to twenty-four or twenty-five? Is it probable that many of our young people who now drop out of school at fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen have gained all the schooling they can profit by? To get a scientific answer it is necessary to revert to fundamental principles. John Fiske has shown that the purpose of "infancy" is to provide a plastic period for educative purposes and that the length of infancy is determined by the degree of mental plasticity of the individual or species concerned. In order to fulfil the first demand of progress the whole of this period of infancy should be utilized in the best sort of training we know how to give. If this is embodied in our school systems then all of the children of a democracy ought to be kept in school until intellectual maturity is reached. It will readily be admitted that different races and different individuals within the same race mature at different ages. Hence democracy can never demand that all individuals attend school the same number of years. Yet few would argue that a real democracy would tolerate the wide variance that now exists in the length of educational training given to our favored youth as against the masses, who average only six or seven years of schooling. Probably neither biologically nor psychologically does the age of mental maturity in the United States vary more than five years, and for the great masses not more than three. Before we can grow up to the full stature of educational democracy we must determine the psychological period of infancy during which education can be given to every boy and girl with assurance of adequate returns, and then so organize our schools that each will be accommodated during that time with the sort of education he can profit by.

The second question that arises is with reference to the kind of education that will meet the needs of the various classes of pupils. If this full period of youth is to be utilized both psychological and environmental differences must be recognized in the content of

educative materials. This is just as true of the cultural content as of the vocational content. In our day culture is as widely differentiated as vocation, and no one pupil is capable of absorbing it all any more than he is capable of becoming an expert in each of the multitudinous vocations at hand. Hence cultural education demands as wide a variety of curricula as vocational education. Moreover, in spite of a general prejudice to the contrary, as large a proportion of our children are capable of profiting by cultural training during the whole period of youth as they are of profiting by vocational instruction. It was Germany's sad mistake of overlooking this fact by dividing her schools into the *Folkschule* and the *Gymnasium-Universität* systems, thus training one group of her people through long years to domineer and the other to be domineered over, that led to her fiasco in the late unpleasantness. Nor are we without danger of following in her footsteps through class discrimination in the administration of the Smith-Hughes fund and other vocational foundations. Democracy demands that leadership and followership be determined on the basis of general ability rather than social status, by natural selection in open competition rather than artificial selection in closed social classes. If we are to accept democracy as a guide we cannot establish a system of education putting one child into a purely vocational school at the age of twelve and another at the age of twenty, merely because one expects to practice medicine or law and the other to cut hair or dig coal. It is not contended that equal amounts of cultural training can be assimilated by these representative types or that equal amounts of vocational training are necessary; but it is certainly true that the number of years during which the barber and miner on the one hand and the physician and lawyer on the other can profit by cultural education and vocational training does not vary as much as the differences in schooling they now get. The real situation is that we have learned how to give the professional classes practically all of the culture and vocational training they are able to take and are just beginning to see the problem connected with the education of the manual worker.

It is far easier to point out this problem of the higher education of the masses than it is to suggest methods by which it may be

accomplished. The first step in its solution, however, is to frankly recognize its existence and definitely face the issues involved. The curriculum of the first two levels of education previously outlined may be fairly uniform for all; but if we are to require all to undergo a long training process the third level must have wide differentiations of two kinds. The first type of differentiation is in the general nature of the courses of study offered in the junior and senior high schools and beyond. These courses must be varied enough to meet the needs of each psychological culture type and each large occupational group. This requires not less than four differentiated courses and our larger high schools ought to have seven or eight. They are generally listed under such names as the scientific, literary, agricultural, industrial, commercial, and domestic courses, but it makes little difference whether they are primarily vocational with abundant cultural content or primarily cultural with abundant vocational content. Both elements must be infused to hold the interest and effort of the varied classes of which our high-school clientèle is composed. Neither in theory nor practice does a democracy have the power or right to compel students to go through a school course when it cannot be made evident either to parents or children that the work offered is worth its cost in time and effort. Hence a carefully chosen variety of courses is necessary in the curriculum.

The other type of differentiation is in the materials of the different studies. Students with different native endowments or coming from different social environments will be stimulated to growth by different assignments, illustrations, and problems. For example, in literature one pupil by virtue of literary instincts and a cultivated environment will be able to enjoy and profit by Burke's *Conciliation*, Milton's *Comus*, and George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, while another would find them not only mentally nauseating but culturally profitless. At the same time this latter class might revel in Stevenson, Mark Twain, and Kipling. One might gain much from mechanical drawing and very little from painting. In history one might gain inspiration and culture from the romance of the Middle Ages and very little from the detailed study of commercial progress, and vice versa. The difficulty with the content of most

of our studies is that it is selected by scholars for the scholastically minded and is therefore narrow and pedantic. Only the few are scholars by preference and they have no monopoly on culture, mental ability, or social worth. The trader, the mechanic, the business administrator, the farmer, and the housekeeper have as good a right to insist that the cultural materials associated with their lives be incorporated into school studies as the writer, the preacher, or the lawyer. Until this is done the boy or girl looking forward to one of those callings is not going to receive equal returns from the effort put forth, and few of them are going to remain in school.

**DEMOCRATIC METHODS OF DISCIPLINE AND INSTRUCTION
MUST BE USED**

The fifth fundamental in educating a democracy is that democratic methods of discipline and instruction be utilized. It would be folly to expect democratic results in a classroom with an autocratic teacher and suppliant pupils. Time forbids discussion of this point farther than to set forth the general principles. It is a psychological fact that one's attitude toward knowledge is determined as largely by the methods through which it is acquired as it is by the content of the knowledge itself. Every idea we possess, whether good or bad, is deeply colored by the medium through which it was gained. Mere information does not develop character. Proper methods will frequently make a subject attractive when improper methods would render it odious. No amount of knowledge concerning democratic principles or activities will ever make one democratic; it is the feeling back of the knowledge which leads to democratic reactions. To produce democratic character through school work, therefore, it is necessary to see that a democratic atmosphere pervades every phase of school work. This requires that the plane of the teacher and that of the pupils be brought closer together. By virtue of his maturity and greater knowledge the teacher is the pupil's superior; hence he becomes the intellectual leader and the pupil the follower. We have developed much of the necessary schoolroom comradery in the primary and elementary grades but we are far from it in the high school and university.

The classroom lecture seldom gets far beneath the mental epidemis of the callous student and hence must be superseded everywhere by genuine laboratory work. Before we can get adequate democratizing results from public education we must organize school control and instruction on a democratic group basis where the inspiration and social pressure of student upon student will parallel and supplement the work of the teacher.

By way of summary and conclusion we may say that the problem of educating a democracy centers around the five propositions of creating a democratic environment for the schools, guaranteeing that all shall receive a reasonable degree of education, providing comparatively equal educational opportunities for every boy and girl, readjusting and broadening our curricula so that every youth shall be able to get the sort of cultural and vocational training that will keep him growing during the whole period of psychological infancy, and imparting this material by democratic methods. This means that we must continually raise our standards and fill in and level up our system of public education to the highest peaks now visible. That we shall attain a pure educational democracy is not to be expected; but that we shall continually approach nearer to it is written in our past and is plainly evident in our present educational struggles.

DISCUSSION

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The contemplation of the education of all society is much like the passage on a scenic railway; no matter where one breaks in, one travels in the same direction, up and down, and surprises one's self by returning to the same spot. It little matters whether democratization of the public precedes or succeeds democratization of the school. The important thing is to make a beginning. If society were static, either approach would be sufficient and effective, but society is not static and it should not be static.

It should certainly be our aim to modify the school as to curriculum and method, and to extend it in period. In time this would result in the establishment of democratic ideas. However, I was very much surprised lately to discover how fast the present twentieth-century scenic railway travels, and I fear the progress of the school curriculum has not, and will not, keep up with the twentieth-century child, and so I believe we should give more consideration to the education of the *public*.

The difficulty in the past has been to catch the *public*. No doubt we should use the older methods of education in dealing with the adult—lectures, libraries, magazines, the church—they should not be permitted to deteriorate, and this prevention of deterioration is one of our new problems. But we must apply the newer methods of education. So far we have been content with entertaining clubs, but the movie, the dance, the men's club, the women's club, the mothers' club, the aggregation at the fire house, the assembly at the grange hall, must be recognized as educational centers, and somehow or other each group must be stimulated to seek a teacher, a new teacher of a new order, a teacher who understands that teaching is leadership, but at the same time that no leadership can succeed without a scientific knowledge of the group to be led—a psychological analysis of the group in order to see what the group wants and needs for educational advancement, a psychological analysis of the individual to see what the individual wants and needs for educational advancement; indeed, a much deeper scientific knowledge, much more scientific preparation, than we have as yet contemplated in the education of the child.

War methods of education will go much faster and much farther at the present moment than attempting to batter down and build up the school curriculum. The question of the moment is, therefore, not to content ourselves with *programing* the school, but immediately begin to *program* the public. But the public will not be *programmed*, it will *program* itself, and there comes the test of leadership. Professor Smith's point is well taken, that without the education of the public, the education of the school is ineffective, but I think that he falls short in not recognizing that the point of attack at the present moment should be upon the public. At twentieth-century speed we cannot wait for the reorganization of the school system. It will take a very short time to reorganize the school system when the electorate in any community has had restored to it one-tenth of its vision in matters of democratic education. It may take a decade to educate the teacher; it will take two decades to educate the school board, but I venture to prophesy that both the teacher and the school board may be jolted into new educational ideals by one good year's work with and of the electorate.

I cannot agree with Professor Smith's suggestions that mental maturity precludes further education; if education should begin with the cradle it should certainly not end until the grave. Neither can I agree with his strictures concerning the Smith-Hughes Act. If vocational guidance be combined with educational programs and the program fitted to the child instead of the child to the program, remembering that the present stature of the child is determined by the food he has had as much as by his ancestry, we need have no fear of developing class limitations or class consciousness.

Any principles for educating a democracy must anticipate that we have a democracy and that we are aiming toward a greater democracy and preclude

educational as well as economic or political slavery. Any scheme for education of a democracy definitely sets out to offer opportunity and to develop equal attainment in so far as adjustment of economic, social, biological, and psychological factors can so accomplish.

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Professor Smith rightly emphasizes the thought that democracy is an ideal toward which we approach but which we never attain. Democracy in these days is far from perfect and is primitive in type, since human society is very immature and in fact is still in its infancy. While therefore we may talk conventionally of democratic environment, democratic opportunity, a democratic curriculum, a democratic corps of teachers, and democratic methods, we must not expect to attain with any completeness such ideals for centuries to come, if ever.

Perhaps the customary stress on these fundamentals for education in a democracy is still influenced by the eighteenth-century theories of equality and environment, and the Helvetian teaching that education is the great panacea destined to revolutionize society and to usher in the age of perfection. Our common-school educational system largely grew up under the influence of such theories, so that our educators, stressing human equality and the transforming power of education, have inclined to assume too easily the wisdom of supplying the same sort of education for all kinds of human beings, irrespective of race, sex, or natural capacity.

We must not forget, however, that the nineteenth century gave us a quite different teaching—the teachings of Darwin, Weismann, and De Vries, of Karl Marx, Spencer, Nietzsche, and Gumplovic, all emphasizing differences, struggle, and heredity as factors not to be neglected. Professor Ross asserts that we must aim to maximize co-operation and minimize conflict, but surely, while we may seek to develop co-operation, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that there are real differences among persons, differences in heredity, race, and class, and that conflicting standards are more than prominent in society and must be taken into consideration in schemes of education.

Why not frankly admit that for some time to come the democracy of equality must be looked upon as an ideal, a shibboleth, a religion, a dream worth dying for, but one far from realization in these days and hence necessarily imperfect? Such a democracy exists only in utopia, and utopians represent it as attained by the elimination of weaklings and the systematic multiplication of talent. Such a condition must come about through telesis, for nature multiplies weaklings and supplies few geniuses. When we can guide nature so that geniuses become as numerous as are feeble-minded today, and, by contrast, feeble-minded as few as geniuses are now, then we may anticipate the incoming of a real democracy and can train democratically in the educational system of that time.

In this century we are beginning to make scientific distinctions between the grades of our population. Eugenic studies, psychological tests, and social valuations of human character now in process of development, all point to the time when we shall demonstrate the teaching of Plato in his myth of the metals, and by careful tests bring to light those individuals of high grade and rare character who should be rightly trained, made social in their aspirations, and given leadership in the direction of human affairs. True democracy is attained, not by stressing as equally important the education of the wise and the foolish, but by developing through right education the Samuri class of H. G. Wells, who lead because they serve the interests of all.

VOCATIONAL FACTORS IN DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

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All adults, practically, must work to support themselves and those dependents for whom they are responsible. Hence all adults during all historic times have had vocations—hunting, fishing, fighting, mining, teaching, leading, farming, writing. Since man has only very meagerly developed instincts for systematized productive work, it follows that all competent adult workers have somehow or other been “educated” for the pursuit of their vocations.

Observation of men and women workers easily shows us the prevalence in society, now as well as in the past, of three distinct varieties of education specifically directed toward producing vocational proficiency. A small proportion—and these usually of the higher ranks—of the workers among us were in large part instructed and trained for their work in vocational schools, that is, agencies whose primary purpose was to give that vocational education. Perhaps 5 per cent of the 60,000,000 adult workers in the United States today—farmers, miners, factory operatives, clerks, housewives, professional men, and the rest—were trained in schools of medicine, law, pharmacy, engineering, stenography, nursing, elementary-school teaching, military leadership, and the like.

Another small number, perhaps 6 per cent of the total, were trained under the conditions of systematized and responsible apprenticeship. Here belong large proportions of plumbers, printers, stone-cutters, and locomotive engineers; and variable proportions of carpenters, machinists, silversmiths, hat-makers, and jewelers.

But nearly 90 per cent of all the adult workers of America today have been the beneficiaries—and the victims—only of what may quite accurately be called “pick-up” vocational education. Nearly all of our factory operatives, miners, farmers, housewives,

business men, high-school teachers, sailors, and transport workers began their vocational life somewhere between the ages of twelve and twenty as helpers, job workers, and navvies. They blundered along the trial and error roads of experience, sometimes stung by the sarcasm of foreman, sometimes helped by the kindly suggestion and "showing" of fellow-worker.

It is in the social situation here outlined that we must get accurate bearings if we are intelligently to discuss vocational education. It is abundantly capable of demonstration that "pick-up" vocational education is frightfully wasteful of the time, vitality, moral energy, and potential powers of the individual. As a means to general social efficiency it is comparable only with the possibilities of "pick-up" military education in modern war.

Some would seek to restore and to extend apprenticeship vocational education; but, for our day and generation, it would be as well to talk of fighting wars with bows and spears. Apprenticeship, buttressed by numberless laws and ancient customs was, indeed, once a very general means of inducting young workers into the vocational "mysteries" and skills possessed by elder workers. But it has been the method chiefly of handicraft industries, and conspicuously of those which, patterning after production in the family unit, organized naturally on the basis of "man and helper," or fully skilled and partly skilled, working in pairs, or at most in trios and quartets. Apprenticeship works imperfectly, however, as between father and son, or mother and daughter; it requires more formal relationship. But it fades and dies under factory conditions. It is starved by specialization of production. It degenerates even in the handicraft industries when mobility of labor becomes prevalent and the binding force of indenture is impaired. In rare instances it re-emerges in modern production, as in the case of engine firing and driving, where the necessary pairing of workers, to whom are assigned very different responsibilities, gives naturally to the inferior the desire and possibilities of eventual promotion, and to the friendly superior the pleasure of teaching and advancing his assistant. But apprenticeship as a general means of vocational education holds little promise to the student of modern economic conditions.

It is necessary that we clearly recognize in the contemporary movement for vocational education a half-blind and half-articulate social effort to substitute systematic vocational education for primitive and inferior types—that is, to replace by the direct and purposive process of the vocational school the chaotic and hazardous processes of “pick-up” methods, and to find substitutes for apprenticeship where that is manifestly archaic and unserviceable. The contemporary movement reflects fundamentally a variety of aspirations, not for vocational education in the broadest sense, but for more efficient and less wasteful, more purposeful and less hit-and-miss, kinds than have heretofore prevailed. These aspirations are readily recognized by the social economist as being one of the necessary products of the enlarged and humanized social ideals and insights which have so markedly characterized the social evolution of the first years of the twentieth century.

But the full significance of contemporary social demands and experiments, the goal of which is a general system of public-school vocational education, has been seriously misunderstood by many citizens and educators and not a few well-known writers and publicists. Certain large questions seem constantly to recur in the writings and addresses of men who, it would seem, should long ere this have become better informed. Their attitudes of doubt and opposition can be expressed in a few fundamental questions. Is school vocational education something markedly distinctive from other kinds of school education? Is vocational education in schools generally practicable? Is it “democratic”? Does it contribute to undemocratic industrialism? Should it be supported at public expense?

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Excessive reliance on the illusory supports of a now discarded faculty psychology and upon the easy generalizations of certain kinds of educational philosophy has been responsible, during the last half-century, for a variety of persistent refusals on the part of many educators and others adequately to conceive education in its analytic, and therefore practical, aspects. The result has been a very considerable mysticism in educational thinking and a deplor-

able vagueness in much of current discussion. Terminologies have been uncertain and equivocal. Beautiful, even if futile, aspirations have mingled with what has at times seemed deliberate obscurantism. Numberless pages and hours have been devoted to half-metaphysical speculation and dogmatizing about *the* aim of education. The struggle for unitary conceptions has obscured the essentially composite character of the ends or objectives which educational procedure must necessarily set before itself. Educational writers have too frequently seemed to be in quest of a panacea or philosopher's stone—some simple aim with its attendant method which would serve all the educational needs of an endlessly varied and complex society.

Now, of course, simple, all-inclusive formulas have little practical place in education, any more than they have in medicine, engineering, or government. The actual guiding aims of educational procedure must be no less varied than the varieties of goods—under such inclusive categories as security, health, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, perpetuation of species, and communion with God, which stimulate and control men's efforts in this world. It is true that from time to time we need to agree upon working hypotheses as to what is desired as to the total make-up of the finished product of multifarious educational procedures. We need these hypotheses as a means of determining the relative weights to be assigned to various types of educational objective. But it seems to the present writer largely futile effort to try to derive these hypotheses of ultimate aim or composite objective from *a priori* sources. They will have to be derived inductively, at least until such time as sociology can give us working evaluations of various optimum qualities and types of desirable social membership.

For example, if we study the assemblage of qualities exhibited by some adult of perhaps forty years of age whom several of us approve as a "good all-round" man, we shall find him to embody many classes and specific varieties of qualities that can readily be grouped as literacy, health, vocational proficiency, sociability, moral character, military prowess, intellectual culture, aesthetic appreciation, and the like. Each and any one of these may be

made the determining objective of a specific variety of education for the youth of today. There is no educational "simple" or panacea which will produce them all. Naturally, group or social or public effort is, at any given time, devoted chiefly to insuring the high development of those qualities then deemed chiefly valuable to the group—at one time those found in the strong warrior, at another those of the priest, and still another those of the well-disposed and well-informed citizen. In fact, it can be accepted as a general social principle that the collective action of public support and control is directed, at any given time, primarily toward producing those qualities and, more commonly, special degrees of excellence of qualities, which society is believed greatly to need, and toward producing which nature, together with private or individual agencies, is manifestly unequal. Any given degree of education effected through the specialized agency to which the generic term "school" can be applied is manifestly more expensive than the "natural development" forced or induced by the environment, or the "by-education" of home, shop, or playground; but these latter agencies are often not equal to the task of producing the degrees and distributions of the qualities desired by society. Hence, in the last analysis, the institution known as "school"—whether for letters or war, for vocation or spiritual nurture, for physical training or citizenship—is charged with the responsibility of achieving certain ends valuable primarily to the individual or to society which other less expensive agencies cannot meet.

Now the objectives of vocational education are not less, but rather more, distinctive than those of any other particular area of cultural, civic, moral, or physical life. The distinctive procedures which, applied to two men otherwise equal as respects native endowment, health, culture, and moral character, give us in the one case the competent dentist and in the other the equally competent bookkeeper, bear resemblance neither to each other nor to the procedures by which ability to read, knowledge of the laws of health, or interests in good literature have been produced.

Certain well-known writers oppose provision of schools for vocational education because of the resulting "dualism" of educational purposes. They seem to fail to realize that even non-vocational

school education is already a "pluralism" of purposes, and not infrequently a highly involved pluralism at that. Training in singing and instruction in Latin have certainly little in common as to either aim or method. The Japanese youth spends part of his time learning swordsmanship and part mastering the classics; is this not "dualistic" education, if we take note of practical results? Handwriting and the multiplication table, as taught to children, function in various basic ways: but what are the actual functions of music, folk-dancing, and drawing? What is the evidence outside of mystic belief that their results are useful to society?

But when we view the results of all kinds of education synthetically in the "composite efficiency" of the man we approve, we easily discern the important place of the vocational powers. Like the foundation walls of a building, they may not be pretty to look at; but on their strength and durability the possibilities of the superstructure of culture, moral character, and health largely depend. These foundation walls cannot well be built of the same materials or by the same methods as can roofs, floors, and the decorations of porch and parlor. The objectives of vocational education cannot be realized by the same procedures, or by procedures at all similar, to those which give us love of good literature, reading knowledge of French, or enthusiastic appreciation of nature.

**THE PRACTICABILITY OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
THROUGH SCHOOLS**

If it could be shown that vocational education through schools is impracticable for a large proportion of vocations, then, certainly, time would be largely wasted in discussing its inclusion in schemes of education for democracies. But of course that is not the case. It is not possible to point to a single vocation of the more than two thousand now followed by American men and women for which direct and positive vocational education is not theoretically practicable, given the necessary working means and conditions. Unfortunately many educators can only think of "schools" in terms of classrooms, textbooks, and other academic paraphernalia. Notwithstanding the numerous examples of very effective schools from

the days of Darius and Pericles onward, in which were no blackboards or books, classes or recitations, these educators (to which must be added many laymen) persist in thinking and speaking of "the school" and especially of "the public school" as of substantially one type and method and hence, by inference, one purpose.

The difficulties due here to limitations of imagination can, however, be speedily overcome when once social economists and educators resolutely address themselves to study of specific objectives. Would it be practicable to have a school designed primarily to train men of suitable age to be sailors and deep-sea fishermen? Where should such a "school" be located? What would be its primary equipment? its chief procedures? By similarly facing the practical problems of providing schools designed to produce, respectively, competent barbers, shoe-factory operatives, coal miners, traveling salesmen for automobiles, cotton growers, and the like, it is easy to pass beyond the barriers set by academic tradition and inertia.

IS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION DEMOCRATIC?

In America, no less than in France and some of the smaller countries, we write and talk endlessly about democracy and about education toward or for democracy. But of clear-cut sociological analysis and definition of the aspirations, ideals, and provisional programs embraced under those terms we have all too few. Discussion of education for democracy or of democracy in education remains vague, indeterminate, and unproductive if not based upon some clearly indicated assumptions as to first principles and terminology.

It is evident that for practical purposes we must consider democracy under several species. The working aspirations, ideals, and proposals of *political* democracy have become fairly familiar to Americans during the last two centuries. We have also recognized, although we are far from having always approved, certain tendencies toward free intermarriage, free cultural and sociability association, and free allowance of common sumptuary standards that may for the present be called *social* democracy. Religious democracy and democracy of worship we can at least understand.

Recently we have heard much of aspirations for *industrial* democracy; but whether these are based upon wholly illusory interpretations of natural process and human psychology or really foreshadow new possibilities of human achievement, none of us can, except in moments when faith rides supreme over reason, feel as yet quite certain.

The philosopher cannot, of course, be very patient of these attempts thus to consider democracy analytically. He visions in men and in societies ideal tendencies to give to each individual, however limited in natural powers or earth-born opportunities, the maximum of freedom, development, and self-realization possible. He grudgingly recognizes limitations imposed by heredity and natural environment; and he flounders often between his aspirations that the individual shall be a willing and perpetually altruistic member of all kinds of social groups, including the state, and his conviction that the ever-active disposition of the group (and especially of the naturally strongest in it) is unduly to control, repress, frustrate, and eventually crush, the individual. Hence, while his interests center largely in those conditions which make for freedom and expansion of the individual nature, he very commonly fails to take due account of those limiting factors which must be primary concerns of the sociologist.

The sociologist cannot, during current decades, escape the necessity of considering public education as both product and causative means of the current prolonged and massive movement for political democracy which, of course, finds its most familiar final manifestations in those social groupings which function as the state. Some of the practical aspirations of this political democracy are now clearly recognized. Its best exponents seek, not the *equality of all individuals in general*—that would be utopian—but *equality in the exercise and enjoyment of those obligations, rights, and privileges which the state, through collective political action, creates and controls*. Hence equality of all before the law; equality of opportunity in choosing those who shall make, interpret, and execute the laws (voting for public servants); equality of opportunity to approve or disapprove proposals of public policy (voting again); equality of obligations to bear the burdens of taxation

and uncompensated public service; and equality of right to share in those opportunities for growth and satisfaction which politically collective action provides—roads, parks, schools, etc.—these have for several centuries past been the actual and practicable objectives, the world over, of political democracy. It would be easy to enumerate many ancillary phases of these—freedom of thought, of speech, of publication, of work, of trade, and of migration—which represent either reactions against previous suppressions of democratic freedom or else conditions for the attainment of the major objectives. The Prince of Wales says to America: "Your aims are as democratic as ours." We are inquisitive to know whether mentally he italicized the word "aims."

Now aspirations for democratic education are, like most other aspirations, very old; but it was not until the nineteenth century that public opinion forced the widespread development in America, France, Scotland, and other countries, of extensive programs of publicly supported and publicly controlled education. The motives underlying this movement were mixed. The good of the state—a safe electorate, literate soldiers, citizens predisposed against crime and vice—was often a controlling ideal. The logical fruition of this ideal is found in Prussia and Japan. But, hardly less frequently, the good of the individual—his religious salvation, his ability to earn a living, his satisfaction of desires for knowledge, his enjoyment of leisure, removal of barriers to office-holding and association with the "educated"—has been the dominant motive. Theoretically, the two tendencies here indicated pull somewhat away from each other, if indeed they do not operate in opposite directions; but practically, they lead to policies and practices which are the social resultants that at any one time probably represent the best that a groping people can do for itself.

By the opening of the twentieth century the United States had brought to relatively full fruition our social ideals of democratic education as then understood. Elementary schools had become universal and free, accessible and publicly controlled. Secondary schools of supposedly general education had also become free and reasonably accessible. In the newer states colleges supported

largely by public taxation had become available at small cost to the individual.

Contrasted with schools which had preceded them here or abroad, all of these lower and higher agencies of learning were, indeed, democratic; but evaluated in terms of the ideals of democracy, they yet fell far short. In spite, often, of good intentions to the contrary, their social opportunities were often bestowed according to the natural law of primitive and relatively unco-operative life, "To them that hath shall be given; and from them that hath not shall be taken away even that which they have." Some kinds of class or caste stratification these schools have indeed tended to reduce; but none the less they have tended to accentuate certain kinds of aristocracy (in the more original meaning of the term), namely, the aristocracies derived from native abilities and favoring economic environment. To the extent which the social principle of "strengthening the strong" and helping chiefly the "most helpable" has induced our ablest to "take on" as much "liberal education" as practicable, it is unlikely that our practices have been seriously amiss; but to the extent that, under the sway of this ideal, we have interpreted "education" as essentially and only those forms of civic and cultural education (plus the great illusion of mental discipline) which collectively make what can properly be called liberal education, then indeed are we taking from the partially disinherited "even that which they have." American youth of less than average abilities and favoring home environment may, on reaching the years of life from the fourteenth to the twentieth, ask for the bread of further educational opportunity; but, with the only rarest of exceptions, they ask in vain. We have nothing but what is for them the stones of college-preparatory subjects in our high schools and the patent-medicine offerings of commercial courses.

The fundamental source of our social confusion here has been, of course, our refusal to recognize that, for the large majority of our people, when once the years of childhood have been passed and the transition to manhood and womanhood begins, education for vocation becomes a matter of paramount importance. It is certainly such to the individual; and the Great War has assisted us

to see that it is also such to the state. Indeed, men of academic prepossessions have themselves long seen the light where the aristocratic vocations have been concerned (called "vocations of leadership" as a palliative to the stirrings of the academic conscience). That able and select youth who could triumphantly finish a four years' general course in academy or high school has for generations found open to him at little cost, and often with the inducement of scholarship grants, vocational schools of theology, law, medicine, engineering, teaching, navigation, war leadership, agricultural direction, pharmacy, dentistry, and accountancy. But to the sons and daughters of the poor, and most conspicuously to the meagerly endowed of these, upon whom economic necessities for at least self-support began to bear heavily at fifteen or sixteen years of age, no corresponding opportunities for purposive vocational education have been available. For a pitiful few philanthropy has made some slight provision; and state schools have been provided for a few thousands who would first qualify through the commitment of felony of sufficient gravity to justify commitment to a reform school. To a few more have been cast the crusts of technical courses in evening, or vaguely oriented day, schools.

In other words, from the standpoint of any adequate conception of the various possible and desirable social aims of education, even our most generously planned schemes have thus far been shamefully undemocratic. They have taxed the weak for the benefit of the strong; they have in many cases helped to the building of new and highly individualistic aristocracies; and they have operated, by various covert influences, to degrade rather than to elevate the self-confidence and working energies of all those to whom nature and social environment have been niggardly of gifts.

These tendencies away from, rather than toward, truly democratic education, have of course been in large part inevitable in processes of social evolution as new as those with which we are here concerned. Certainly no blame for existing limitations of ideal or practice need be directed against those leaders who have not had responsibility or opportunity for the analytical and comprehensive study of educational objectives. But what shall be said of those leaders whose chief business in life is the study of edu-

tion? What, especially, should be said of those who, in the name of democracy of education and of education for democracy, have recently been opposing the development of effective schemes for vocational education?

Fortunately it can be said of most of them that their hearts are right, however wrong their heads. Of these opponents there are several distinguishable groups. Some think that the varieties and degrees of general school education now provided contribute as much as a public-school system practicably can toward vocational proficiency. Their contentions have already been answered in this paper. Another group includes certain able social idealists whose antipathies to the present "industrial system" cause them to view with aversion all educational proposals which seem to give that system recognition and perhaps tentative approval. A third group, including many leaders from among the present administrative staffs of existing public schools, concede, in somewhat vague terms, the importance of vocational objectives in public education, but oppose the provision of necessary means, if that involves separate or specialized vocational schools. Let us consider first the positions held by this last group.

Their theory of educational objectives is best expressed in the *Report on Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* prepared by the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. The most important means of insuring democracy of education is that public schools for young people from twelve to eighteen years of age should not be differentiated or separately organized according to the probable economic future of different groups of learners—so one infers from study of the report. Nevertheless preparation for vocational competency should rank as one of the principal aims of secondary education. The means of all secondary education should be the "comprehensive high school"—the "people's university" (this is not the language but it is clearly the ideal of the report) to which should come for all schooling of less than college grade the rich and the poor, the well-endowed and the poorly endowed, the representatives of all groups otherwise made potentially discordant by conditions and traditions of race, religion, economic status, and political

inheritance. Daily association, commingling, and co-operation in this comprehensive high school is to insure in adolescents such mutual understanding, toleration, and civic co-operation as will largely prevent social cleavages and class conflicts thereafter. Thus is American society to be democratized.

With the educational ideals here implied surely no good American can quarrel, and least of all the man schooled in contemporary sociology. It is only when we come to consider the practicability of these ideals that men accustomed to think in terms of realities must hesitate and finally pause. The literature of education is replete with ideals that are essentially utopian. They are in fact little more than the aspirations of men who feel deeply but whose disposition or circumstances preclude thinking in terms of realistic conditions and possibilities.

It is submitted that critical examination of the *Cardinal Principles* will prove that such is the case with the educators who framed it. Their vision is admirable, and it is socially sound as regards non-vocational or liberal education. In American society it is of the utmost importance that as long as our young people are required, or can be induced, to remain in schools of non-vocational education —up to the age of fourteen for all, of sixteen for many, of eighteen for a favored minority, and of twenty for a few elect—there should be the least possible differentiation or segregation on account of race, creed, probable economic future, or any other circumstance not strictly relevant to the development of common culture, common standards of good citizenship, and common healthfulness.

But the mistake of the Commission lies in the non-critical assumption that a similar unification of aims is practicable on behalf of those seeking vocational education. We must all sincerely wish that it were practicable, especially in these days when economic cleavages threaten to divide men into warring groups, as have formerly racial, religious, and political differences. But those of us who have tried to interpret vocational education in terms of objectives corresponding to the realities of modern economic life must sadly confess that vocational education in the "comprehensive high school" is in the main a product of the imagination. We are forced to recognize that in the modern city of even a few

thousand inhabitants scores, if not hundreds, of vocations are represented; that the "ages of effective entry" upon them ranges from fifteen to thirty; that in the large majority effective vocational education must consist primarily in that sustained and concentrated "training" which is practicable only on realistic work of a definitely productive character; and that the proper place for such training is only in closest possible conjunction with the commercial agencies which are themselves engaged locally in supplying productive service, or the products of productive service, to the community.

There are a few vocations which can, perhaps, be taught amidst the academic environs of a high school located in the residence district of a city. Possibly bookkeeping, stenography, draughtsmanship, are typical of these. A few others, of which house carpentry and home-making may be types, are of such a character that technical studies and direction of practical work could be organized in the high school while facilities for educative productive work could be found in the vicinity.

But what about the vocations of sailor, fireman, commission-house clerk, hardware salesman, shoe-factory operative, hotel waitress, barber, street-car motorman, farm laborer, concrete worker, silversmith, machinist, foundryman, and traveling salesman for woolen goods? Either the Commission denies, by implication, that there exists any social need that vocational preparation for these vocations should be given in schools under public support, or else it has not critically examined the conditions under which such education of an effective nature is practicable.

There prevails, in fact, a fundamental error in regard to the necessary determining conditions of vocational education which is by no means confined to men of academic prepossessions. It consists in regarding vocational education as in some mystic way practicable of achievement through minor modifications of courses and methods in existing schools, whether elementary, high, or collegiate, or of slightly differentiated extensions upward of their essential procedures, instead of being, as it actually must be, rather an extension downward, for educational purposes, of the objectives and conditions of productive work itself. The history

of vocational education shows clearly that in modern times hardly any form of school vocational education has escaped the fate of passing through a long period, sometimes of many decades, during which its principal aims and processes have been essentially bookish, academic, impractical, and vocationally non-functional or, at best, only partially functional. Such has certainly been the history of schools of medicine, agricultural and military leadership, and the training of teachers; and such is still, probably, the case with schools of engineering, "business," and home-making. Apart from schools designed to extend or supplement apprenticeship, of which European countries furnish the principal examples, the only type of modern vocational education now known to the writer which has not suffered a long enslavement to academic tradition is that developed since 1850 for the training of nurses. Here conditions rather than any clearly conceived purpose imposed reasonably sound pedagogic standards from the outset; in fact, programs leaned so far to the practical as to require, like apprenticeship, social safeguarding to save the learner from exploitation.

The obvious conclusion is that, as regards that democracy of education which consists in the free association of learners during working hours, the possibilities are obviously large during the years given to general or liberal education, and small under the conditions of sound vocational education. Vocational education, in the very nature of the case, involves much the same kinds of segregation as the exercise of the vocations themselves. Even where several types of higher vocational schools are brought together, as in a university, there exists little intermingling of students except out of working hours. The demands of the medical school claim the working hours of its students no less than do those of the college of electrical engineering. Even if we should place within one group of juxtaposed buildings vocational schools of shoemaking, carpentry, general farming, and counter salesmanship, we should find practically no association of the various groups of students, except in evenings, holidays, and at other leisure times.

Of course, we are talking here about "real" vocational schools—those that mean business and not dilettantism. The writer knows, of course, of several alleged day vocational schools which

have no Saturday session, which are open only 190 days in the year, and whose students cease work in the early afternoon to play baseball. But these give us only travesties of vocational education. They are only slightly modified schools of general education. They may have as their goal the "five-hour day and the five-day week," but they are yet far from seriously reflecting the standards of earnest and competent work that have brought civilization to its present position.

There are, however, certain methods by which vocational schools of a genuine kind can contribute both to the extended culture and to the democratization of their students. Definite objectives for such action are to be found by careful social studies of superior workers among those now influential in any community. That farmer, bricklayer, salesman, housewife, or factory operative whom we most approve is one who so organizes his time and the expenditures of his energy that he gives of these in due proportions respectively to his vocation, his rest, his family, his recreation, his personal culture, and his civic obligations. But the disposition and the understanding required thus to organize life are themselves in large part products of education, school or non-school.

Let the vocational school of farming, then, begin habituating the prospective farmer to a proper disposal of his one hundred and sixty-eight hours weekly. Let it provide first for a working day of eight hours to which shall be given on the whole the freshest of available working energies. Let it then suggest proper recreations (social and intellectual, perhaps, rather than physical, for the farmer) outside of working hours; let it inspire and guide students in forming tastes for good reading, music, social intercourse, and thus lay more secure the cultural foundations which are to enrich the farmer's life.

In the second place, we recognize that each competent worker whom we approve as citizen as well as worker has attained to those special kinds of social insight and civic appreciation which his particular vocation makes possible and significant. Every vocation necessarily develops a large degree of special kinds of social consciousness among its followers—and these are sometimes in line with the general social well-being, and sometimes at cross purposes with it.

Let no one make the gross error of assuming that the major responsibilities of the citizen are, or can be, taught in connection with vocational training. The efficient medical school now gives its students certain professional appreciations, ideals, and varieties of social insight; but these pertain primarily to the special social responsibilities as to which the medical profession is unique. It is distinctly *not* the province of the medical school to produce that wide range of civic attitudes, ideals, and forms of insight as respects which men are united in the same nation, local community, common form of family life, and moral standards, irrespective of the fact that, occupationally, some are plumbers, some bakers, some lawyers, and some railway operatives.

In connection with preparation for each vocation, therefore, can be taught the group ethics, the desirable social relationships, and obligations, internal and external, of that vocation. Though not all nor even a major portion of desirable civic education (except in the minds of educational mystics), this portion is supremely vital and important. As any individual grows in vocational competency it will usually be found that motive and apperceptiveness for this form of social education will wax rapidly. After all, one of the most real of the centers of each man's life is to be found in his vocation, which, like his family and his homeland, contains endless potentialities for happiness or for unhappiness, according as social adjustment is right or wrong.

DEMOCRACY AND "INDUSTRIALISM"

Some of the keenest opponents of certain phases of proposed public vocational education are those who are in revolt against what is vaguely termed "modern industrialism." Their opposition is, therefore, not directed at all against professional education; only slightly against agricultural and home-making education; and they exhibit no animus against the rather innocuous commercial education which public schools now provide. These opponents have even become tolerant, recently, toward "trade" education in so far as it seems to prepare for the handicraft callings.

But their hostility is strong against all attempts to provide vocational training for the wage-earning callings in highly organized

fields of production—manufacturing, mining, railway and steamer transportation, food packing, and the like. These are the economic areas, of course, in which specialized organization, applications of science and invention, corporation control, and use of capital have proceeded farthest. Here develop far-reaching cleavages between "labor" and "capital," between wage-takers on the one side and interest and profit-takers on the other. Here are occurring those revolutionary manifestations which express the blind gropings of millions of dissatisfied workers as well as, doubtless, the schemings and plottings of a limited number of fanatics and scoundrels, for the heaven of "industrial democracy."

It is not practicable in this paper to examine current aspirations for industrial democracy. There are those who insist that economic industrialism gives labor more democracy than it has ever enjoyed since man emerged from his forest dwellings. But many others see in a highly developed wage system only a modern evolution of slavery. To some, the achievement of industrial democracy is at least as practicable as the achievement of political democracy. To others, production highly developed and economic necessitates kinds of centralization and specialization which are no more consonant with certain of the aspirations of democracy than are the conditions of military efficiency.

But we are here in the midst of a conflict into which the educator cannot profitably enter. So involved and uncertain, and in the strictest sense so irrelevant, are the issues to education that the educator may well cry, "A plague upon both our houses."

The fact is that it is not primarily the business of the educator to serve either capital or labor, employer or employed, radical or conservative. His responsibilities are primarily directed to the task of fitting the rising generation for the oncoming social order as that can best be understood by him. What will be the probable conditions, standards, requirements, and potentialities for further development of that social order he must be informed by those workers whose primary concern is its study and reconstruction—statesmen, social scientists, leaders of partisan movements, and the like.

Before each child of today lie some, but only some, economic possibilities. So far as human prophecy can determine, the Sahara

Desert and Labrador will not become fertile within the next generation. The habitable and wealth-producing areas of the world will steadily become more crowded. Revolutionary inventions for controlling natural forces are possible but unlikely within the life-times of people now living. Standards of living will grow, and desires to maintain them will evoke many sacrifices. Regimentation, specialization, and scientific direction of economic production will doubtless increase. The efficient worker will, except under extraordinary conditions, command more of the products of the service of his fellow, whereby he must live, than the inefficient worker.

These and numberless others like them are the social (or rather economic) objectives which must chiefly determine educational objectives. Only those kinds of education, therefore, will be adequately democratic which work toward these objectives. Those who would use the school system as a means of furthering their partisan economic faiths and beliefs must be warned to take hands off, as America has already warned those who would use the schools in the interests of religious or political propaganda. The youth of America—all that youth, rich and poor, male and female, black and white, gifted and ungifted—under a democratic public-school system, is entitled to reasonable opportunities to prepare for life as it is, or probably will soon be, life physically, life culturally, life socially, and life vocationally. We may, after we have done the day's work in a world of realities, dream of utopias if we will.

PUBLIC SUPPORT OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

A few years ago it would have been necessary and appropriate to give serious consideration to the question, "Is the support and control of vocational education a proper public function?" Fortunately, general defense of an affirmative reply to this question is not longer necessary. The passage by Congress of what is known as the Smith-Hughes Act by a unanimous vote of both houses once for all affirmed the conviction of the American people that vocational education ranks in social importance equal to any other form and therefore deserves no less the encouragement and sustenance of public support.

Only in one quarter does doubt still abide. We all believe in vocational education—if it is properly refined and diluted. But not a few of us of academic tradition still gag at realistic "shirt sleeves," grimy vocational education, very much as our forebears gagged at "dirty" manual occupations in general, leaving them to slaves, bondmen, and "common mechanics." We admire processes by which a girl is taught stenography, but we shrink from contemplating the possibilities of teaching, in suitable vocational schools, men to mine coal, make shoes, pack meats, or fire engines, or girls to make cigarettes, run knitting machines, or wait on hotel tables. Especially are we hostile toward training workers for the highly organized industries. "Let these big industries train their own workers" is our undemocratic and unintelligent refusal. Unthinkingly we here again blindly accept the natural and, for civilized societies, cruel principle, "To them that hath shall be given; and from them that hath not shall be taken away even that which they have." The light of genuine democracy will sometime reach even the most academic (and aristocratic) of us. Generous public support of all forms of vocational education is one of the most democratic of the ideals and aims of our ages.

DISCUSSION

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Dr. Snedden's paper develops into an argument for the extension of vocational instruction in the public schools. His discussion is built upon three modern ideas that are beginning to disturb the complacency of educational tradition:

1. The purpose of education is social; its primary test, the preparing of youth for a future and better social order.
2. Education in its aims and practices is not at present sufficiently democratic to meet its social obligations.
3. A democratic program for the schools must include specific vocational preparation for a greater number of people. This doctrine is acceptable to capital only if it is understood to mean more workers better fitted to assume a worker's proper function in the present industrial order. It is acceptable to labor only if it in no way endangers labor's growing power. Labor is suspicious that capital already has its hands on the vocational program of the schools. This doctrine of vocational preparation for all youth is received with enthusiasm by the general public if it will bring quick returns in wages or teach social

inferiors to assume with contentment their economic destiny. It pleases educators as long as it remains abstract discussion or at least does not disturb the traditional enterprises of school instruction.

In a practical working out of a more democratic vocational program a difficulty arises because of the necessity of providing for immediate needs in industry and at the same time safeguarding the social welfare of the future. The program also must provide training both in technique and in ability to interpret socially the significance of industrial occupation. The latter is the more difficult objective, but without it there can be in the future in industry neither peace nor sanity. A program that will turn out merely skilled workers who consider themselves preyed upon by a system alien to their welfare will not develop social democracy.

In building up a vocational program to meet immediate needs the educator should provide the following:

1. More widespread and more efficient vocational guidance.
2. Freedom from rigidity of vocational preparation. It is less important that the pupil receive specific training for a chosen vocation than that he be given instruction that will permit him to utilize his native psychological attitudes.
3. Private business can and should make a more generous and humane use of the opportunities provided for the modern type of apprenticeship in many of the large corporations. The final welfare of the beginner should not be sacrificed for the purpose of quick returns either by the individual or by the corporation.

In planning for the future the builder of a democratic vocational program needs to keep in mind the following considerations:

1. An educational anticipation of vocational experience is likely to prove, for the majority of the oncoming generations, of decreasing social importance. Conditions during the Great War have revealed how little intellectual training is needed to enable the individual to undertake, with reasonable success, a host of occupations. At present it seems necessary to assume also that from a social viewpoint the work experiences of most persons in occupations that require little skill will decrease in significance while their experiences outside their employment will have greater personal meaning and therefore more social significance. If so, the big task of the schools, the task which perhaps conditions the social stability of the near future, will be, not the making of men and women in industry more skilful or establishing them earlier in a definite line of work, but rather helping them to be more fit to use for public advantage, increasing social power, and multiplying leisure. At present the school program is hopelessly inadequate for the proper use of the resources of science in the working out of a policy that will insure a sane social order.

2. There can be no democratic vocational program unless provision is made to discover and to utilize for social progress those who, driven by the pressure of quick financial return, seek training for industries requiring a

minimum of time for preparation, but who because of natural ability ought to receive long and specific training for the professions or for the more difficult lines of business or industry. Social carelessness in regard to this problem is at present the cause of an enormous loss, and some of us are anxious that any program for more democratic vocational instruction should attempt to protect those specially gifted from exploitation through premature industrial commitment.

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I find that I have no significant disagreement with the admirable viewpoint of Professor Snedden as set forth in his paper. Accordingly I shall confine my discussion during the seven minutes allotted to me to some remarks which may be regarded as supplementary to the main lines of thought in his argument.

It will be found convenient to divide the fields of educational training into three, as follows: (1) vocational; (2) citizenship; (3) cultural: (a) general cultural; (b) esoteric cultural.

The third type may properly be subdivided into the general cultural and the esoteric cultural. This classification of educational training values may be supposed to represent in general, in the order of statement, their relative importance to the individual and to society in the life-struggle process. The individual cannot survive nor can society exist unless people acquire the technique for earning or acquiring a livelihood. Likewise, individuals cannot live effectively, nor society progress or even survive, if people do not understand the art and science of living together. Finally, not only is life richer in its content, but the earning of a livelihood may be carried on more effectively and one's citizenship relations will be more intelligent and even more tolerant and co-operative if one possesses a broad background of knowledge of the world in which he lives. To afford this last equipment is the function of such general cultural subjects as history, literature, philosophy in its best sense, and, indeed, of the general aspects of all sciences and particularly of the social sciences. I take it that not much can be said by a sociologist in favor of the esoteric cultural subjects, which until recently filled our curricula and still largely overload them. These subjects rather isolate the individual from his kind, whereas a truly cultural education should identify him with his world, even if on an advanced and idealistic plane.

The first two types of training—the vocational and that for citizenship—are the original ones. In the early history of man, long before there was any formal group instruction for the young which might be called "schooling," vocations were carefully taught and learned, and their social values, embalmed in myth and story, in song and fable, were passed on from one generation to another. Life was so simple and the technique of the prototypes of industry and of social organization and control were so elemental that the child could acquire the wisdom and efficiency of his elders in his everyday community

contacts. He learned by doing and through play. He acquired his skills and attitudes under the direct pressures of intrinsic problems.

The cultural element comes into this system only as an incident, if at all, in these early times. It arises as a by-product and differential of skills and is embalmed in and transmitted through the absorption into religious observance and aesthetic cult with a religious fervor. Or it may arise out of the growing formality of social relationships and secure its transmission through the same channels of religious and cult observances. Thus we find the cultural element in this early informal education arising out of the vocational and citizenship training, and serving as a means of reinforcing them because it acts as a formalizer and emotional sanction.

Culture, as a separate and detached element of training, comes into vogue as a formal phase of education only with the rise of a leisure class set off from the common herd. It may become established as informal instruction by a dominant minority which, by reason of a superior *Kultur* or a superiority in technique of arms but attributed to a superior *Kultur*, is able to rule over a conquered majority. Or it may arise as the formal badge of an economic, or priestly, or other class which has grown up within a larger group. In either case it is likely to be retained as a badge of distinction and as such it constantly drifts toward the esoteric and away from the general cultural type. Thus among us moderns the study of Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew, and even Sanskrit, and the pursuit of the higher mathematics as carried on in the historic English universities and in our own universities which could boast of having attained to the nearest approach to them, have really been of the esoteric rather than of the general cultural type and have aimed at making "gentlemen" as over against "boors."

Since the earliest schools, as schools, were class schools or schools for classes rather than for the masses, the earliest formal instruction was primarily cultural. This bias in our schools has continued down to the present day. It would perhaps have remained the characteristic type of schooling forever, but for the coming of the industrial revolution and the dominance of the frontier in colonial histories. But nothing lasts forever—not even culture itself—and the new world of land and the new world of natural resources came and gave to the upstart plebeian a disproportionate share in the management of public affairs and a chance to share in this culture which was the visible badge of the social estate to which he desired to attain. The transformation of the economic order, consequent upon the discovery of routes to the Indies and to America, and the discovery of steam, by which yoke-fellows were made of coal and iron, let in the demon of democracy. The democratic masses, like all reverent and hopeful peoples, believed in magic, and the magic they sought for was the talisman of culture—the thing which, superficially, would make them like their former masters. This spectacle has been repeated again and again, from the rise of the free cities to the so-called emancipation of women. The aspiring among our own negroes, no sooner had they sloughed off their shackles, than

they turned to founding colleges for the study of Latin and Greek at a time when the more discerning whites were getting ready to abandon these studies. And the strongholds for cultural studies in our universities today are manned by women newly admitted to academic pursuits, while the men are largely disillusioned and are turning to economics, politics, and the professions.

Thus, with the coming of the new world, education was democratized. But its democratization was accomplished in one dimension only, in one single plane. With the establishment of the public-school systems throughout the civilized world, but especially in the United States in the nineteenth century, the old aristocratic type of education began to be extended to everybody who would take the trouble to receive it. Even the state universities were made free schools in a very literal sense. But for a long time the essentially esoteric cultural curricula of lower and higher schools resisted bitterly all attempts to make their content of a general cultural character. Those present here today remember with what pain to many devoted hearts Greek was amputated from the curriculum, and even now the groans of agony resound in our ears from the performance of a similar operation with reference to Latin.

That is to say, the second dimension of democratic education is coming into view. The content of the curriculum is being overhauled and adjusted to the demands of a complex and a fairly democratic world. Training for democracy, both in the technique of citizenship and the technique of efficient production, beginning in the higher schools, is gravitating into the lower and is taking on that practical and concrete character which Professor Snedden has so strongly stressed. It was inevitable that it should come. The complete fruition of the industrial revolution would not be possible without it. All life is complex now—fearfully complex—and our industrial life most complex of all. The individual can no longer pick up needed skill for self-sustaining production through the simple process of copying his neighbors at work or at play. There are hundreds of industrial processes which require the most concentrated attention, analysis, and practice to secure proficiency. Type-writing, stenography, engineering of half a dozen types, metal working of more types, bookkeeping, orchestral playing, garment-making, news writing, "ad" writing, are but a few random instances. Apprenticeship teaching is no longer possible. There are too many learners and the process of learning is too long and complicated. Either the training through this method is inadequate or the demands upon the time of the efficient worker and the loss of rent on his machine are so great as to be prohibitive. Vocational training, having outgrown community imitation and play because of its complexity, and having been ejected from the shop because of the uneconomical character of the apprenticeship system, must now be housed, and housed adequately, in the school. Otherwise our civilization will suffer. It cannot maintain and increase its efficiency of output, nor can it keep up its standards of product. Only thus can we secure the necessary leisure for the further development of individual character and thus fulfil the promise of our evolving democracy. We

must further democratize our educational system in the second dimension, that of content or depth.

But here we should append a warning which is also a supplementary suggestion. It may be that at this point I emphasize something which Professor Snedden does not emphasize, but I am confident that he would agree with me. Vocational education alone will not lead inevitably to democracy. The most self-centered system of autocracy of industry and capital is made all the stronger and more impregnable by having each worker trained to the utmost for productive efficiency, and trained the least for independence of political and social action. There are some signs that seem to point to the fact that one or two, perhaps more, countries have been aiming in recent times at industrial efficiency but not at social efficiency for the masses. Their ideal seemed to be a sort of domestic-animal type of civilization. They would train the worker in all the tricks of his trade, so to speak, they would feed him and clothe and shelter him and insure him through all the gamut of the social insurances; but train him to be a thinking, living, discussing member of a democratic society—never. From these ideals, the net result of which would be to make of vocational training a buttress to autocracy, we must take warning. We must supplement training in the industrial vocation with training in the citizenship vocation. For our social lessons also have become too complex and involved in this much mixed and hectic world to enable us to pick up our knowledge of society and of our duties as citizens from our neighbors—especially when our nearest and most talkative neighbors are the paid writers of a partisan press. The second dimension of a democratic education also includes training in the facts of society and in methods of using these facts as the raw material of thought. Without this type of training the other may be in vain. It might even be worse than in vain.

RACE SEGREGATION IN A WORLD OF DEMOCRACY

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All forms of life upon the earth have a natural tendency to segregate. Each species of plant or animal tends to spread from its original home in all directions except in so far as it is not checked by some barrier, such as land, water, climate, or a competing species. When any species overleaps a barrier and migrates into a new environment it begins to adapt itself to the new conditions and, in the course of time, differentiates into a new variety or new species. Zoologists and botanists are able to indicate with considerable precision the habitats and migrations of the principal species and varieties of plants and animals from the Paleolithic period to the present. Darwin and Wallace were the first scientists to point out the relation of species to geography, and since their day this relation has become one of prime importance to all biological students.

When a species adapts itself to any geographic unit and becomes a distinct variety or sub-species it rarely intermixes with any other variety. It is not at all probable that a new type was ever produced in a state of nature by the crossing of two species or varieties for the reason that the progeny of a crossing are often infertile, and their peculiarities could not be perpetuated unless they and their descendants were isolated. It is the general rule in both the plant and the animal world that different varieties or species do not cross. Where they compete, one or the other is exterminated, or they exist side by side but segregated. For example, the black rat, introduced into America in 1544, tended to crowd out the native wild rat, while the brown rat, brought in about 1775, practically exterminated the black rat. There was no new variety of rats produced from a blending of the imported and native stocks.

Therefore we find everywhere under natural conditions only segregated species and varieties of life. New varieties and types come about through variation and adaptation to new conditions and not through crossing and assimilation.

The races of men are subject to the same laws of segregation, migration and assimilation as any other species, the chief difference being that man is pre-eminently a barrier-crossing animal, and is able to distribute himself all over the world.

The different races of men have come about, first, through organic changes, such as the development of a particular stature, form of head, color of skin, etc., and second, through the development of a particular culture in the matter of language, religion, customs, etc. For the purposes of this discussion I will use the term "race" for a group of people which differs organically and visibly from other groups, and the term "sub-race" for a group which differs from others mainly in culture.

The first race upon the earth of which we have any definite knowledge may be defined as the Neanderthal, which flourished in Europe about 150,000 years ago. It was characterized by a short stature, dolichocephalic head, small brain capacity, and receding forehead and chin.

Then about 25,000 years ago there appeared in Europe a new race, which seemed to come from Asia, and which may be defined as the Cro-Magnons. It was characterized by a larger stature, dolichocephalic head, broad cheek bones, and a brain capacity above that of the average European of today. It was the race which gave to the world its first art. It dominated Europe down to about 10000 B.C. These two races, judging from their organic differences, must have looked very unlike, and the one succeeded the other without intermixing. Madison Grant remarks that the Cro-Magnon race was "not in any way related to the Neanderthal" (p. 111).

Toward the close of the Paleolithic period there appeared in Europe a third race, coming by way of Irania, Asia Minor, the Balkans, and the valley of the Danube. It was the first broad-headed (brachycephalic) race to invade the Western world. We may define this as the Grenelle race. It spread all over Europe

nearly everywhere, ousting the Cro-Magnons, for which its possession of the bow and arrow may have been responsible. That these two races did not intermix is evidenced by the fact that when later the Grenelles were driven back several isolated groups of them were left behind in the poorer mountain districts.¹ The descendants of the broad-headed type now form the predominant peasant type in Central and Eastern Europe.

About the beginning of the Neolithic period two other races made their entrance into Europe. One of these came from the south, characterized by a short stature, long head, and brunette hair and eyes, and may be defined as the Mediterranean race. The other came from the shores of the Baltic, characterized by tall stature, dolichocephalic head, blond complexion, and may be defined as the Nordic race. These races of the Stone Age acquired their particular characters through variation and adaptation to their environment and not through intermixture.²

At the beginning of the Neolithic period the races of Europe consisted of three distinct types. First, the Mediterranean, of medium height, dolichocephalic and brunette, scattered over Spain, Italy, Gaul, Britain, and parts of Western Germany; second, the Grenelle or Alpine, short in stature, broad-headed, and of mixed complexion, occupying the Alps, Central Gaul, and the Balkans; and third, the Nordic, tall, dolichocephalic, and blond, occupying the Baltic region, Scandinavia, Eastern Germany, Poland, and Russia.

It is safe to presume that the chief races of Europe, and also of Asia and Africa, had been formed by the beginning of the Neolithic period; and down to the present time their characteristics and their geographical distribution have remained substantially unchanged.

In the course of time the pressure of population of these races impelled them more or less to invade each other's territory, and, wherever this happened some intermixture of races took place. For instance, the Nordic race at various times invaded Southern France, Spain, Italy, Greece, and the Balkan Peninsula. The Alpine race, during the Neolithic period, and again in the

¹ Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, p. 116.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Bronze Age, invaded Northern Europe, reaching even England, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. The Mediterranean race in the early part of the Neolithic period spread northward, passing west of the Alps, through Central France, and reaching the British Isles.

It is not at all surprising that some intermixture resulted from these invasions, but it is indeed amazing that the invasions left so little imprint upon the people of the territory into which they penetrated.

Of the Mediterranean invasion into the north, we find today only a segregated group in the Fen district northeast of London, some specimens in Wales, and very scattered remnants in Scotland. Of the Nordic invasion into the south there is little evidence to be found, except in Northern France. This race of blonds was either driven out or perished through inadaptability to the climate. Of the Alpine invasion into the north there remains some small colonies in Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, but no visible remains in the British Isles.

If we obliterate the political boundaries of Europe we find that it divided itself naturally into five geographic units, and in these units we discover the natural habitats of the three principal European races.

First, the Western Highlands, which include Northern Scotland and most of Scandinavia. This region, because of its mountains, and short and cool summers, is more adapted to stock-raising than agriculture and, by reason of its proximity to water, is very favorable to fishing and trade. It is a region of much rain and overcast sky.

Second, the Western Lowlands, which include England, Northern France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria. This region, by reason of its climate, minerals, soil, and water facilities, is unsurpassed for agriculture, timber, mining, and commerce. The sky is obscured for long periods of time by cloud and fog. In this region the Nordic race of dolichocephalic blonds probably originated, and has continued to dominate it up to the present time. Also this race naturally overflowed into the Highland region to the north.

Third, the Central Mountains, which include the central plateau of France, the mountains of Switzerland, Austria, and the Carpathians. This region has very limited areas for agriculture which forces the people to a variety of petty industries, such as stock-raising and the handicrafts. It is decidedly insular, being largely shut in by a circuit of mountains, and affording only tortuous outlets to the sea and difficult communication within its borders. Throughout this region we find predominating the Alpine race of short stature and broad heads.

Fourth, the Southern Peninsulas, which include Italy, Greece, and the Balkans. This region is characterized by dry, hot summers and rainy winters. Agriculture suffers from frequent droughts, and the heat of summer is enervating. The interior is generally shut off from the coast by mountains which are difficult to cross, but its great coast line offers unrivaled facilities for communication with the outer world. In this region we find the dolichocephalic and brunette race known as the Mediterranean.

Fifth, the Southeastern Basins, which include the plains of Austria, Hungary, and Roumania. These basins are inclosed for the most part by high mountains, and are cut into isolated areas by vast marshes formed by the overflow of the rivers. It seems that no single race has ever occupied this region. Each wave of migration into it has left isolated remnants of its passage, so that it contains today a number of segregated races.

Thus, with the exception of this region of the Southeastern Basins, Continental Europe is divided naturally into three large and harmonious geographic units, and in each of these there has existed from time immemorial three distinct races, differing in physiognomy, psychological characteristics, and culture. Each is adapted to its particular environment, and is not necessarily suited to any other. For instance, the Nordic race has a scantiness of pigmentation which is unfavorable to survival in the hot, clear regions of the south. It is well known that blonds are more enervated and overcome by heat, and are more susceptible to a variety of diseases than the brunettes. Moreover, the Nordics have a sanguine and restless temperament which does not accommodate

itself to climatic conditions imposing quiescence, monotony of labor, and fixed habits.

Whether the Mediterranean race is able to adapt itself physically to a northern climate I do not know, but it has a childish spontaneity, emotional instability, and passionate ardor which do not seem to fit it for the rigorous vicissitudes and onerous physical and mental exactions of the northern latitudes.

As for the Alpine race, whatever may be its physical adaptability to other regions, it has a certain stolid impassiveness and lack of imagination which unfits it for coping with the cosmopolitan problems of the regions to the north and south.

When a race advances from a tribal to the political stage, the first states are always small, no one of them embracing the entire geographic unit. There develops, therefore, in each state some differentiation in customs, manners, dialect, or religion, and thus there arises a segregation within the same race or a sub-race. And a still further segregation begins to take place within each state, growing out of conquest or the division of labor, and showing itself in the development of castes and classes.

One of the most remarkable facts of history is the persistence from century to century of races and sub-races in the same geographic territory without undergoing assimilation. For example, the Sumerians and Babylonians of the Mesopotamian Valley, the Egyptians, Libyans, Ethiopians, and Arabs of the Nile region, the Amorites, Canaanites, Hittites, and Aramaeans of Palestine and Syria, the Malay and Negrito of the Philippines, the Ainu and Japanese of Nippon and Zeso, the Veddahs and Singalese of Ceylon, the Magyars, Teutons, and Slavs of former Austria Hungary, the Irish and Anglo-Saxons of the British Isles, and the Negro and Anglo-Saxon in the United States.

The foregoing illustrations will suffice, I hope, to bear out my introductory thesis that among all forms of life, including man, there is a natural tendency to segregate within some geographic unit. In a state of nature the crossing of different varieties rarely ever takes place; and no new types, and especially no higher types ever evolve except by segregation and adaptation to environment. As for human beings, intermixture of races never takes place

voluntarily, but only through conquest, slavery, or the existence of pioneer conditions which do not offer the individual an opportunity to marry within his own race.

Higher varieties or races may indeed be obtained by the ingenuity of man in arbitrarily coupling two divergent types. But human beings cannot be manipulated in this fashion. If we could find somewhere a new Garden of Eden and place there a male and female of opposite races, a new type might be evolved, but it would necessitate the isolation of the pair from the rest of the world and the putting to death of all undesirable variants among the offspring. Such an experiment can never be possible.

Neither through natural selection nor artificial selection can evolution toward a higher type take place without segregation,¹ and the human race is no exception to this rule.

Therefore among human beings higher types can be evolved only by a natural process, and that process is by variation, segregation, and adaptation, and not by race-crossing.

Some years ago there sprung up a number of writers, represented in France by Finot, who, believing in the blending theory of heredity, advocated wholesale miscegenation. They argued that from the remotest antiquity the human races have been undergoing amalgamation, and that at the present time each nation or so-called race is such an infinite mixture as to defy analysis; that cross-breeding is necessary to vitalize race stocks, and is the main factor in the progress of civilization. The French people have been often singled out as an example of a group representing high culture and a great racial intermixture.

In reply to this line of argument, we may say in the first place that recent knowledge has brought a realization of the fact that race intermixture has not taken place to the extent formerly believed, and on that account much of the history of the world has had to be reconstructed. For example, it was once the general opinion that the races of Europe represented various blends of a great racial stock which we called Aryan. Today there is no scholar who believes that the Aryan-speaking peoples have a common ancestry, or that they have intermixed to such an extent as to

¹ Gulich, *Evolution, Racial and Habitual*, p. 7.

lose their identity. The progress of anthropology is revealing more clearly every year the fundamental character of races, and demonstrating the fact of race integrity where formerly race intermixture was presumed. For example, the Celtic-speaking peoples were until recently thought to belong to a much-mixed Celtic race, because of the evident contrast between groups of these people in France, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. We now know that this was not a case of intermixture, for the reason that there never was a race of Celts, but that, as a result of the Nordic invasion, a Celtic culture and language were spread over France and the British Isles. Thus the instance of the Celts, which has been used to illustrate amalgamation, turns out to be a proof of race segregation.

There has undoubtedly been much intermixture of sub-races, i.e., of peoples who differ only or chiefly in culture, and to cite such cases and the intermarriage of the aristocratic and common folk of a century, as Finot does, as an evidence of universal amalgamation is to beg the question. The crossing of sub-races is quite sufficient to promote whatever renewal of vitality any race may need, and this new infusion among the human races has been secured through the institution of exogamy.

It should be remarked further that France is not as good an example of the success of race amalgamation as was formerly believed. A glance at a recent anthropological map of France will show well-marked segregations of the three principal European races; and several very eminent French writers now regard the presence of these contrasting races as a misfortune, and they deplore as inimical to French culture of the future the increasing preponderance of the Mediterranean and Alpine types.

The impact of two races often gives a stimulus to culture, but this stimulus is not at all dependent upon amalgamation, which may take place to a very slight extent. For instance, the impact of the Alpine race upon the Nordic and Mediterranean in Neolithic times was the means of diffusing bronze culture over Western Europe; and the impact of the Nordic race upon the Mediterranean in ancient Greece was a means of giving rise to the Athenian culture. The contact of two cultures on nearly the same level is generally

beneficial to both, whereas the contact of a high and low culture is generally injurious to the former and disastrous to the latter.¹

The instincts of mankind, which have tended to preserve the integrity of races, have performed an indispensable function in the evolution of civilization. The progress of any race from a lower to a higher culture is a matter of accumulated tradition and a long process of natural selection, bringing the superior members of the race into dominance. Every race has a distinctive cultural germ which, like the protoplasm of the individual plant or animal, requires a continuous and independent growth in order to reach maturity. If races freely intermixed, there would be such a perpetual interruption of tradition and of the processes of natural selection that no unity of culture or high order of culture could be attained.

For example, if the Egyptians had blended with their Semitic, Libyan, and Negro neighbors, there could have been no unity of culture and no great civilization on the Nile. The racial integrity of the Egyptians has been so strictly preserved that the type of the Egyptian of today is indistinguishable from that of Rameses III. If the Israelites had mixed freely with the Egyptians, Amorites, Canaanites, and Hittites there would have been no continuity of Hebrew culture such as culminated in giving to the world its most inspiring literature and highest examples of human virtue. So also the instincts which preserved the racial integrity of ancient Greece and Rome, and modern England, France, Germany, etc., have favored that unity and continuity of tradition which enabled them to produce a distinct type of civilization.

Whenever, by reason of conquest or migration, two races come together in the same territory, there is always a racial conflict, leading to political and social disorder, and sometimes to wars of extermination. From Paleolithic times to the present, the greatest wars of the world have been due to the presence of some race outside of its geographic unit.

Hence, if ever a permanent peace is established between the nations of the world, it must come about through the adjustment of the national boundaries to conform to the distribution of races and sub-races.

¹ Ratzel, *Anthropo-geographie*, II, 349, 352.

The drafters of the League of Nations realized this fact, and the most significant thing of the League is that it is the first effort ever made to bring about a general segregation of the races of the world. The doctrine of the right of self-determination of peoples means that any race occupying a definite geographic area shall be privileged to draw a political boundary so as to segregate itself from the other races.

Among the many new ideas which the world-war has interrupted, nothing is more surprising than the universality with which the statesmen of the world have conceived the international segregation of races. The student of social science can scarcely point to a historian or prophet who has had the vision of a world reorganized on the basis of racial geography. The only author of modern times who has had such a vision is Putnam Weale, an English author and administrator in the East. In his book, *Conflict of Color*, he takes the position that "The grand divisions and dwelling-grounds of the races are now more or less settled for all time." As for Europe, he says that "a general rectification of frontiers undoubtedly has still to come. It is plain indeed that until that rectification has everywhere been carried out, all talk of arbitrating vital international differences must necessarily be illusory." He outlines in a general way how the territory of the world must be partitioned so as to segregate permanently the white, black, brown, and yellow races. The continued invasion of the white man into the territory of other races he regards as a policy which will bring ultimate disaster that race because of the great numerical superiority of the other races, and the fact that they can and will soon organize a military efficiency equal to that of the whites.

In view of the general purpose of the League of Nations and of the popular opinion which sustains it, it is safe to say that hereafter race segregation will be a fixed international policy. Putnam Weale seemed, therefore, to speak prophetically when he said:

For the real frontiers—real barriers to the swaying to and fro of peoples—are no longer rivers, or mountains, or seas, or any of those physical features still referred to in geography books. These are only the frontiers of savages; the real frontiers of civilization are formed by masses of men distributed in

proper density, highly civilized, irrevocably locked to the soil by their history and their culture, and sufficiently warlike to make their physical boundaries respected, should wanton aggression menace them. It is flesh and blood, then, that forms true modern barriers; and when that flesh and blood shows an indisputable title, no one will dare to dispute it.

Finally, something needs to be said by way of indicating how the segregation of races may be effected within any nation where unfortunately several opposite races exist side by side whose numbers are too small and scattered to form a separate political unit. I can see nothing to be gained by a legal segregation of races within any nation. Where the races are notably opposite they will naturally form segregated groups, and, in order to prevent these from expanding to an alarming degree, restrictions may be placed on future immigration. It is very evident that with free immigration everywhere the most prolific race would eventually overspread the world, giving rise to more race wars and a perpetual readjustment of political boundaries.

So far as the United States is concerned, it certainly cannot be to our interest to permit the unrestricted immigration of the yellow, brown, and black races. We have already closed the door to the Chinese and, by a gentleman's agreement, stopped the immigration of the Japanese. It is for us to determine, in so far as we have not already done so, the kind of race we shall have within our geographic limits. Our country was settled almost entirely by peoples from Northern Europe belonging to the Nordic race, and, with the exception of the Negro, the stream of immigration into the country continued to be of the Nordic type until about 1885, when the tide began to flow in from Southern Europe and Asia. Should this tide continue, it is certain that the Nordic race, which founded our government and planted our culture, and whose birth-rate is declining, will be superseded by the more prolific Mediterranean or Alpine races. This will mean a change from the fair to the dark Caucasian type, and from the Protestant to the Catholic faith. Charles Davenport, our eugenic specialist, says that unless conditions are radically changed our population will "rapidly become darker in pigmentation, smaller in stature, more mercurial, more attached to music and art, more given to crimes of larceny, kidnapping,

assault, murder, rape and sex-immorality, and less given to burglary, drunkenness, and vagrancy than were the original English settlers." Eugenists usually view with apprehension the outcome of the present flow of immigration to our shores.¹

The notions and sentiments underlying our immigration policy have arisen from an entirely erroneous conception of sociological and biological facts. For example, our popular notion, prompted by humanitarian considerations, that America should be an asylum for all the suffering peoples of the earth, does not in fact work out in the interest of humanity, but more than anything else operates as a means of keeping a backward race in a perpetual state of suffering and degradation. A race, for instance, like the Chinese is in a condition of extreme poverty because of its excessive fecundity, and this condition is made permanent to the extent that the surplus population can find an outlet. But if there were no outlet, a check on excessive fecundity would have to come about through raising the standard of living. It is therefore more in the interest of humanity and civilization that each race limit its population by elevating its standard of living than that it perpetuate low standards and force its starving millions to migrate.

Again, the popular notion that America is a Melting Pot into which all races may be boiled down to a uniform American style is now discredited by recent investigations. In the first place, race intermixture is not now taking place in America to the extent that it was some decades ago. The races of recent immigration contrast more than those of former years and therefore tend more toward segregation. For example, the Bohemians form segregated colonies in Chicago, Nebraska, Mississippi, and Texas, the Slovaks form a colony in Arkansas, the Portuguese in Massachusetts, and the Italians and Jews are tending to a more definite segregation in the larger cities. In view of the natural tendency of races to segregate, it is probable that, as the number of each race in America increases, the opportunity for marriage within the race will become greater and the frequency of marriage outside become less. Thus in the future America will not be populated by a harmonious race, the

¹ Recent books on the subject are Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*; and Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*.

product of the Melting Pot, but will come to be, like former Austria-Hungary, made up of a motley collection of unassimilated races out of which nothing can issue but race riots and race wars. How long these jarring segregated groups may exist side by side in our country is impossible to foretell, but the one certain outcome is that the Mediterranean and Alpine types will predominate and give a new color to our civilization.

In the next place, the popular notion that an intermixture of races results in a blend of their characteristics is completely discredited by what we have recently learned of the laws of heredity. It is now well known to biologists that, with rare exceptions, only unit characters are inherited, so that instead of a blend there is liable to be transmitted to succeeding generations in varying combinations all of the characteristics of the intermixed races.¹

Even if these races could blend, the result would be disastrous to American culture, for I have already referred to the biological fact that in a state of nature the evolution toward higher types and species comes through better adaptation to conditions and not through crossing. I have also called attention to the importance of race integrity as a means of bringing any cultural embryo into maturity and ripeness. The early American culture was merely a continuation of the English, and its first period of flowering, represented in the literary productions of Washington Irving, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Hawthorne, and Poe, was the outcome of a continuous tradition. But with the coming of races from Southern Europe and Asia, with their distinct traditions and germs of culture, the flowering of our native culture was arrested, and we have now only a mixture of traditions out of which no unified culture is possible. "The fine English sentiment," says Charles H. Cooley, "that came down to us through the colonists more purely, perhaps, than to the English in the old country, is passing away as a distinct current, that is lost in the flood of cosmopolitan life. Before us, no doubt is a larger humanity, but behind is a cherished spirit that can hardly live again; and, like the boy who leaves home, we must turn out thoughts from an irrevocable past and go hopefully on to we know not what."²

¹ Davenport, *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics*, p. 225.

² *Social Organization*, p. 170.

The crazy-quilt type of population which is developing in America renders more and more difficult the expression of any national ideal or the carrying out of any consistent national policy. Already a large proportion of our lawmakers are obliged to defer to and reflect the sentiment and ideas of the particular races segregated in their respective districts, so that few public men are free to think in terms of the whole people, or to represent a continuous stream of culture.

Aside from any question of the superiority or inferiority of races, there is nothing to be gained by a wholesale agglomeration of races in America or in any other part of the world. It is highly improbable that the intermixed races would blend, and, if they should blend, there is no warrant for the view that a higher type would result. The more probable outcome would be an increasing segregation, a confusion of traditions, and the postponement to some indefinite future of the development of a unified tradition and the flowering of a distinct culture. In the long run, the more prolific race will possess the territory and stamp its particular culture upon the nation. At present the United States is at a great disadvantage, as compared to other nations, in having no unity of race or of tradition, and more and more this disadvantage will become salient.

We therefore need an immigration policy which will result in the great preponderance of some one racial stock. We must put a lid on our Melting Pot, or we will find out, when it is too late to learn, that progress toward higher types of men comes about through better adaptation to conditions and not through cross-breeding. It is high time we were deciding what race shall be allowed to adapt itself to this New World.

DISCUSSION

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This paper seeks to justify a political policy with regard to the segregation of the races on the theory that such segregation is in accordance with a fundamental instinct. It is true enough that human conduct rests on an instinctive basis, but we may well doubt whether these instincts are as imperious and as unequivocal as the author of this paper seems to believe.

I cannot, for one thing, take the accounts which he gives of the behavior of paleolithic man as seriously as does the author of this paper. We cannot

tell why the races of the Stone Age did not intermarry, assuming this to be the fact, because we do not know the state of communication in the Stone Age. We do not know the sentiments and attitudes of the paleolithic peoples; we have no literature from that period.

What we do know today is that all the existing peoples of the world do interbreed freely, and that when they are brought into intimate contact the natural fears and prejudices which formerly held them apart tend to break down. We cannot well say, therefore, what is likely to happen in the future with the unceasing mobility of the world-populations and with the unceasing development of means of communication.

I do not think we realize the significance of literature which, with the growth of literacy among all the peoples of the world, has become a medium through which we have access to the most intimate sentiments and feelings of people remote from us geographically and in physical appearance. We cannot tell how greatly our natural dispositions may be ultimately changed as a result of the understanding which literature may bring to the peoples of the world.

The process of segregation, it should be remembered also, does not segregate peoples merely on the basis of language and race. The same process produces classes based on vocation, on mental aptitudes, and on moral defects. Labor and capital, intellectuals and defectives, all tend to become segregated on the basis of their common possessions and their common defects. What is more, these classifications tend to run across all classifications based on external marks of race or language. It is true even in the South today, where the races are more completely segregated than elsewhere, that as classes grow up in the different racial groups, these classes—capitalists, laborers, and professional men—tend to come together across the racial barriers and unite for their common welfare. This also may be regarded as instinctive behavior, which has its justification, also, in the common nature of man.

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There is always danger in interpreting present possibilities by primitive conditions. In this case the anthropological explanation does not tell why the natural tendency to segregation. What we do know is that both the rat and the man are sentient beings. From the point of view of descriptive or static psychology, the difference between the black and the brown rat or the black and the white man is negligible; but from the side of functional or behavioristic psychology, we have the central problem of the world. Someone has shown that an ant from one hill sprinkled with the dust of crushed ants of the same variety from another hill will be killed by those of his own hill.

I think there can be no adequate explanation of the group without an application of Freudian principles—I use group in the generic sense, including race. The first of these is that *the group has survival value*. The individual

normally values himself less than the group with which he identifies himself. The particular group is as significant as sex, as an object of instinct. The group is not a fixed thing, however, but is interpreted by the individual as that in which his survival is found. It may be the clan, tribe, or race which is recognized at sight; or it may be a religion in which eternal survival is postulated and is symbolized by ritual, or a nation or state with tradition and history. Intermarriage has been as difficult between religions as between races. A generation ago members of two Quaker sects were both turned out for intermarrying. Dialect, language, and dress are symbols varying in force according to conditions. The so-called instinct of gregariousness is merely an offshoot of the group instinct, and not the original instinct, as is often claimed.

Since most of the life of man has been lived in the environment of a primary group, those symbols obvious to the senses have been most developed, rather than those more remote and rational which function in the great society, whose significance is only now emerging.

It is normal, as Professor Dowd claims, that the best results are to be obtained through the self-realization of the group, because of the immediate relation of each individual to it.

The relationship between groups has always involved conflict, and in the conflict there has developed a variety of defensive apparatus in the form of complexes. The most powerful of these is group loyalty or patriotism, whose power to color all other attitudes is tremendous. Unfortunately, in the conflict it has always been the case that there was a winner and a loser. The loser always develops distinctive psychoses resulting from the repression of the instinct aimed at group survival, and the winner develops aggressive or imperialistic psychoses.

One characteristic of these psychoses is hyper-self-consciousness, which makes objectivity impossible. It tends to exaggerate group solidarity, and makes the passing from one group to another more difficult. This self-consciousness is easily seen in the Jew, the Pole, the Irish, and the Negro. When carried far enough, it may result in a definite neurotic condition, as is often seen among the Jews.

Since repression means a frustrated will, there is always a tendency to some abnormal expression. This takes the form of devotion to some subsidiary symbolization of the group object, as language or religion. The Poles and the Irish illustrate both of these. The ecclesiastical system becomes a defensive institution for the group.

Whatever the form of repression, a solidifying result is inevitable. It may be the dominance of brute force, political or economic exploitation, or, what is more hateful than all other forms but not yet adequately recognized, what for want of a better term might be called *cultocracy*. The cultocratic effort to impose values which flourish under the guise of higher morality develops innumerable defensive complexes. It may be snobbish and arrogant, or merely self-righteous and self-confident. It certainly accounts for the defeat

of the respectable in many city elections; for example, of Merriam and Mitchel as mayors of Chicago and New York; and for much of the failure to assimilate aliens, whether in Europe or America, past or present. The Lithuanians are more hostile to the Poles than to the Russians, and the Jugoslavs to the Italians than to the Austrians. Americanization and the race and class problems are more in danger from cultocracy than from any other single thing. England is laying up more trouble in Ireland, French Canada, and India from culture domination than from either political or economic exploitation.

Self-determination of nations does not mean race segregation but an opportunity to develop normally; in other words, so that the group may survive without the use of defensive antipathies. Not until groups are normal is assimilation possible.

The Peace Conference also emphasized another new principle, namely, the rights of minorities. Any minority is a group on the defensive. It may be a minority of numbers or of rights. The autocratic monarch and the autocratic majority are equally bad in principle. Only by a method of proportional representation, psychologically sound by avoiding repression, can we ever hope to break down disintegrating groupings and secure a co-operating society in a democracy. The segregation of races is a necessary and desirable condition as long as it is necessary for races to rely on primitive defensive apparatus. Even after the world learns that the basis for human relationship is psychological and makes proper adjustments, group solidarity will continue until the psychopathic condition developed by an abnormal society has been cured. In the meantime, I think anthropology and eugenics are poor guides to the new world.

AMERICANIZATION

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The word "Americanization" has recently become such a widespread slogan among us and so much a test of an alien's patriotism that, as most germane to my subject, may I ask you to consider for a few moments the marked change in the concept of nationalism which has taken place during the last quarter of a century? May I do this by contrasting the impressions I received in Europe last summer with those I received thirty-five years before?

At the earlier moment, in all political matters the great popular word was "unity": a coming together into new national systems of little states which had long been separated. New Italy was vociferously jubilant from the toe to the heel, for Venice had been so recently rescued from Austria that she still wore wreaths of welcome in honor of her home-coming, and Victor Emanuel was the most popular king in Europe.

The first kaiser and Bismarck ruled over a newly made German Empire, represented by an imperial parliament in which it was said that a homogeneous people, long estranged, had at last been united. It rather smacked of learning, in those days, to use the words slavophile and pan-slavic, but we knew that the words stood for a movement toward unity in the remoter parts of Europe where Bohemia was the most vocal, although she then talked less of a republic of her own than of her desire to unite with her fellow-Slavs. The very striking characteristic of all these nationalistic movements was their buring humanitarianism, a sense that the new groupings were but a preparation for a wider synthesis, that a federation of at least the European states was a possibility in the near future.

The words of Mazzini, who had died scarcely a decade before, were constantly on the lips of ardent young orators, who stressed

his statement that it was impossible to unite men into stable nations unless such efforts were founded upon a recognition of the higher claims and obligations of humanity. And, inevitably, one still heard mid-Victorian phrases concerning the Parliament of Man. Certainly the desire to unite, to overcome differences, to accentuate likenesses, was everywhere a ruling influence in political affairs.

All this was, of course, in marked contrast to the impressions I received in the summer of 1919. Nationalism was still the great word, but with quite another content. Whereas I had formerly seen nationalistic fervor stressing likenesses and pulling scattered people together, it now seemed equally dogmatic and effective in pushing apart those who had once been combined—a whole ring of states was pulling out of mother-Russia, Bavaria was organizing her own government, and Italy in the name of nationalism was separating a line of coast from its Slavic hinterland, to mention but a few instances.

Had nationalism become overgrown and over-reached itself, or was it merely for the moment so self-assertive that the creative impulse was submerged into the possessive instinct? To be sure, there was the old type found in Poland gathering together her scattered people, although it was constantly explained that the new Poland was a valuable barrier and that the guaranty to defend France from attack extended to her outposts as well; apparently the motives were so inextricably mixed that it was impossible to make a fair statement. Then there was much disconcerting talk about coal and iron deposits in regard to all the new boundaries. Of course, the formation of Czecho-Slovakia had much about it of the old ideas. Cavour as well as Masurek had sent an army to fight in a cause not his own in order to secure recognition for his newly formed state, but on the other hand there was nothing corresponding to the solemn pride of the young Italians, thirty-five years before, that if Nice had to be given up, it had been relinquished as the result of a plebiscite and not of conquest.

Had the notion of nationalism become institutionalized and dogmatized during thirty-five years, or was it only that now,

older and disillusioned, I had been talking too much with other older and disillusioned people? Certainly not all the people with whom I talked had been disillusioned. In Paris one day I had been received by Venizelos, out of respect for my many Greek neighbors; he at least had seemed at ease and sure of his nationalism. He said that, thanks to the glorious traditions of Greece, she need put forth no claims because the people of Hellenic temper and aspirations were themselves asking to join their fortunes to hers. That sounded like the old talk, and it would have been a great comfort if I had not heard a Bulgarian later say that the Bulgarians of Thrace who were to be handed over to Greece could not understand why they had been given no opportunity to decide their own fate, and had become most restive and threatening. Signor Orlando, when he had received our committee on resolutions, had grown eloquent over Italia Irredenta and in sonorous phrases had set forth Italy's historic claim to the east coast of the Adriatic, her expanding commercial needs, and the military necessity for defensive ports. This was in contrast to the statement of an Albanian official I had met who was much worried over the surrender to Italy of the port of Avalona, which after all was little compared to the fate now awaiting Albania—a possible division between Greece and Servia.

In yet another contrast I recalled several Roumanians we had seen, who were proud of their Latin speech, so pleased that the Entente was ready to enforce their claims, that there was no Bolshevism within their borders; but later, in Holland, we were told of the Unitarians, the Calvinists, the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and Jews, long living in Transylvania, who were now all to be brought under the rule of the Greek church of Roumania. A distinguished Unitarian clergyman had just been released from prison but was still interned; the sectarian schools and seminaries had been closed that the children and young people might all be instructed by orthodox teachers of the national church. The whole situation was apparently still more complicated where the religious test yet remained as part of the national concept and imposed itself under the name of patriotism.

Was that perhaps the clue? Had nationalism become dogmatic, like the Greek church itself? Had it hardened in thirty-five years? It was as if I had left a group of early Christians and come back into a flourishing medieval church holding great possessions and equipped with well-tried methods of propaganda. Had the early spontaneity now changed into an authoritative imposition of power? Certainly one receives the impression everywhere, in this moment when nationalism has been so tremendously stressed, that the nation demands worship and devotion for its own sake, as if it existed irrespective of the tests of reality. It requires unqualified obedience, denounces all who differ as heretics, insists that it alone has the truth, and exhibits all the well-known signs of dogmatism. It sends out its missionaries, and in Germany at least its state universities were analogous to the theological schools in which propagandists were carefully prepared.

This utter inability to see the "other side," to apply impartially the ordinary standards of just dealing, is a well-known characteristic of the dogmatic mind, as is a habit of considering ordinary standards inapplicable to a certain line of conduct because the motives inspiring it are above reproach.

Although dogmatic nationalism was curiously exaggerated in Germany, there was a similar manifestation of it last summer in the dealings of the Entente with their heretics, so to speak. We saw arriving in Rotterdam, from the German colonies in Africa, many families fleeing from their pioneer homes; in the railroad stations were posted directions for the fugitives coming from Posen, from Alsace, from Czecho-Slovakia, and from the Dantzig corridor. They told of prohibition of language, of the forced sale of real estate, of the confiscation of business, of the expulsion from university faculties, and the alienation of old friends. There was something about it all that was curiously anachronistic, like the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, of Cromwell's drive through Ireland, of the banishment of the Huguenots from France. It was as if nationalism had fallen back into an earlier psychology, exhibiting a blind intolerance which does not properly belong to these later centuries, as if it had become purely creedal. In fact, the very existence of these widespread nationalistic dogmas suggests one of

those great historic myths which "large bodies of men are prone to make for themselves when they unite in a common purpose requiring for its consummation the thorough and efficient output of moral energy." It is said that the making and unmaking of these myths always accompanies a period of great moral awakening. Such myths are almost certain to outlast their social utility, and they frequently outlive their originators; as the myth of the Second Coming—evolved by the early Christians when only Heaven itself could contain their hopes—endured for a thousand years.

Upon my return to the United States last August I seemed to encounter a similar situation, affording the sharpest possible contrast to what had existed in the late eighties and throughout the nineties in the century of our youth.

In that remote decade the young men's movements in the church, in politics, in labor, in reform, in philanthropies as diverse as the Settlement and the Salvation Army, were all characterized by a desire to get back to the people, to be identified with the common lot; each of them magnified the obligation inherent in human relationships as such.

Americanism was then regarded as a great cultural task and we eagerly sought to invent new instruments and methods with which to undertake it. We believed that America could be best understood by the immigrants if we ourselves, Americans, made some sort of a connection with their past history and experiences. We extolled free association and the discussion of common problems as the basis of self-government and constantly instanced the New England town meeting. We especially urged upon the immigrant that he talk out his preconceived theories and untoward experiences. We believed that widespread discussion might gradually rid the country of the compulsions and inhibitions, the traditions and dogmatisms, under which newly arrived immigrants suffered. This method was not without its success.

We are, in fact, thirty years later, able to point to thousands of instances in which the radical young man, who most earnestly arraigned unjust conditions, has become the typical prosperous and bourgeois citizen, sometimes so complacent that one is moved

to repeat the English statement that if a man is not too liberal when he is young, he becomes too reactionary when he is old.

The early settlements practically staked their future upon an identification with the alien and considered his interpretation their main business. We stuck to this at some cost, for we believed that especially in times of crisis it was our mission to interpret American institutions to those who were bewildered concerning them; although it was often apparently impossible for the overwrought community to distinguish between the public incident which the settlements were trying to understand and the attitude of the settlement itself.

At one such moment of public panic which had to do with a Russian immigrant twelve years ago, I wrote as follows:

Every settlement has classes in citizenship in which the principles of American institutions are expounded, and of these the community, as a whole, approves. But the settlements know better than anyone else that while these classes and lectures are useful, nothing can possibly give lessons in citizenship so effectively and make so clear the constitutional basis of a self-governing community as the current event itself. The treatment at a given moment of that foreign colony which feels itself outraged and misunderstood either makes its constitutional rights clear to it or forever confuses it on the subject.

The only method by which a reasonable and loyal conception of the government may be substituted for the one formed upon Russian experiences is that the actual experience of refugees with government in America shall gradually demonstrate what a very different thing government means here. Such an event as the Averbuch affair affords an unprecedented opportunity to make clear this difference and to demonstrate beyond the possibility of misunderstanding that the guaranty of constitutional rights implies that officialism shall be restrained and guarded at every point, that the official represents, not the will of a small representative body, but the will of the entire people, and that methods have therefore been constituted by which official aggression may be restrained.

These words written so recently already have a remote sound—to advocate the restraint of overzealous officialism as a method of Americanizing the alien would indeed be considered strange doctrine, for there is no doubt that at the present moment one finds in the United States the same manifestation of the world-wide tendency toward national dogmatism, the exaltation of blind

patriotism above intelligent citizenship, as that evinced elsewhere.

Many of the liberties supposedly inherent in a system of self-government were doubtless necessarily cancelled during the war, but it is as if we were now wilfully prohibiting their normal and natural restoration.

Is it that the odium and animosity lavished upon the central Powers during the war has not yet spent itself and that, connected as it is with an intense nationalistic feeling, it is at present being turned upon the alien because he is perforce outside the national life? Because the emotions aroused by the war are not yet fully discharged do we see in the suspicion of the alien, the mania to hold him responsible for every strike and for every heresy, only a case of "balked disposition" so familiar to the psychologist?

To ticket bodies of men by a collective name, and to regard the men as we believe the principles deserve to be regarded, is an egregious blunder similar to that made by the dull schoolboy who obtains "his answer" in apples and pears because he has confused them with dollars and cents. When we confound doctrines with people, it shows that we understand neither one nor the other. Many men, not otherwise stupid, when they consider a doctrine detestable, failing to understand that changes can be made only by enlightening people, feel that they suppress the doctrine itself when they denounce and punish its adherents. They really are as confused as the aforementioned schoolboy.

The application of a collective judgment in regard to aliens in the United States is particularly stupid. The twenty-seven million people of foreign birth living among us are not only quite as diversified in their political opinions as those of us forming the remaining millions of the population, but they are in fact more highly differentiated from each other by race, tradition, religion, and European background than the rest of us can possibly be even though we are as diverse as "the cracker" in Georgia and the Yankee in Maine.

The task before us is to utilize properly the enthusiastic patriotism engendered by the war by making it more inclusive. The slogan, "To make the world safe for democracy," which transcended

the nationalistic point of view, secured an unhesitating response and resulted in a great output of self-denying and heroic action upon an international scale. "To Americanize every alien in America" might become a compelling slogan, but it could be consummated only if our enthusiasm ran in wider channels and after the conception of nationalism has been transformed from a dogma of the eighteenth century to the evolutionary conception of the twentieth century.

Would it not be possible for students of the social order, such as are gathered here, to reassure a panic-stricken public? Could our fellow-citizens not be told how gradually social changes come about if free opportunity for modification is guaranteed? Quite as the capitalistic system so incompletely superseded the feudal system that great tracts of the feudal régime are still extant not only in European countries but in democratic England itself, doubtless the capitalistic system in turn will yield to a more socialized form of society so gradually and incompletely that the processes of change, as such, will be much more normal than a static condition, a standing still, could possibly be.

It is certainly most important that Americans should not make a problem for themselves by placing an unfair emphasis upon differences which are inevitable in a country such as ours; that we should not get into the habit of arresting aliens for holding meetings of a type which have been held for many years without disorder and free from espionage. The altered equilibriums and distributions brought about by war opened avenues for a tremendously increased activity along the lines of teaching English and of classes in preparation for securing first and second citizenship papers. These are most praiseworthy, but we might discover many opportunities for mutual effort with the alien population and thus establish a new center and perspective. It is possible, for instance, to collect funds for starving Poland, Armenia, Roumania, indeed for almost any part of underfed Europe, in co-operation with bodies of citizens whose affections and interests are centered in those starving countries. As we undertake a mutual task of this sort "how our convulsive insistencies, how our antipathies and dreads of each other" would soften down; what tolerance

and good humor, what willingness to live and let live, would inevitably emerge.

William James was constantly urging us to look at each other *sub specie aeternitatis*; perhaps that advice was never so needed as now.

DISCUSSION

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There are two points in Miss Addams' paper that I should like to emphasize a little.

The first is that changes in culture always take place slowly and gradually. There can be no sudden break with the past. As applied to Americanization this means that many people have expected a more complete assimilation of our immigrants in a few years' time than was humanly possible. Students of social psychology have known all along that much which was called assimilation was in reality only superficial adaptation. They have felt sure that the time would soon come when we should need to exercise a large amount of that patience which Miss Addams urges if we were not to misjudge the real nature and capacity of our immigrants. Certainly we shall all agree that the only fair way to judge of our foreign-born is to study carefully the ways in which they have been fashioned by their Old World environments and to try to understand how they are likely to react to the conditions of the New World. If we do this honestly and in the light of adequate knowledge, we shall at least understand something of the inner life of our immigrants and be prepared to deal patiently with them. Complete assimilation of non-English-speaking peoples born abroad is not to be expected, and my own observation and experience lead me to doubt seriously whether their children are ever entirely Americanized. The influence of an age-old culture is sloughed off very slowly, and spiritual adaptation to a new culture takes place just as slowly. If we can only be made to realize how slowly these changes in the inner life take place we shall have much less trouble in practicing the patience for which Miss Addams pleads. But should we not also ask ourselves, in all seriousness, whether, in view of the slow process of Americanization, we should not check the stream of immigration somewhat until the leaven of the New World becomes stronger, if ever it does?

The second point in Miss Addams' paper I wish to emphasize is the need for diversifying our efforts for Americanization. Most of our efforts up to the present have only scratched the surface of an Old World culture or at best put a thin veneer of New World habits over the old. I know not what new efforts to suggest in order to secure greater diversity. I am inclined to believe, however, that we shall never succeed very well in Americanizing our immigrants until we have developed a state of society in which the unconscious influences

constantly bombarding them create in them a faith in fair play and justice and brotherly kindness. As long as we merely give lip service to these ideals they will unconsciously steel themselves against Americanization (especially the finer souls) because of its revolting narrowness and crass materialism. By diversifying our efforts for Americanization I understand Miss Addams to mean that we should make an appeal to the "whole man," not merely to a few instincts or groups of instincts. In order to do this we must ourselves have a well-rounded culture, which even the most ardent believer in America will hardly claim for us at present. We are rather young and crude and raw, and certainly our immigrants cannot but be influenced by these traits. How far our immigrants may themselves be responsible for these conditions we cannot determine here, but we of older stock must accept the major share of the responsibility. It is our duty to labor for the development of a broad human culture which will be sufficiently diversified to make an appeal to the "whole man" in the immigrant. Until we do so we cannot expect to make good Americans in a reasonable length of time out of the foreigners flocking to our shores.

BOLSHEVISM AND DEMOCRACY

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Political democracy or majority rule was originally a device for curbing autocratic dynasts. In our own time, when all claims to rule by divine right have at last been relegated to the garret of history, democracy is cherished primarily as a means of effecting peaceful adjustments between opposed groups in society. We look to democracy as our insurance against social upheavals and bloody strife. Therefore, when on a memorable day in January, 1918, a band of Kronstadt sailors, acting upon orders of the Bolshevik government in Petrograd, and in the name of a dictatorship of the proletariat, drove into the street the all-Russian constitutional convention, which had been elected on the basis of a most democratic franchise, in the minds of many democrats the glamor seemed to depart from the Russian Revolution and Bolshevism itself became a fit companion-monster to Prussian militarism.

It is our privilege as scientists to turn a deaf ear, for the time being at least, to the storm of condemnation which rages about Bolshevism in order that we may examine it objectively and dispassionately. Like any other species it is studied to best advantage in the surroundings of its habitat; so we shall examine Bolshevism in its local and historical setting.

To students of the social sciences it is self-evident that the rule by the proletariat which has now maintained itself in Russia for over two years, in defiance of nearly the whole world, cannot be dismissed as a mere fluke, but must be regarded as a product of Russian life, past and present. In fact the continued Bolshevik rule seems to be an index of the relative fighting strength of the several classes in Russian society—the industrial proletariat, the landed and industrial propertied class, the peasantry, and the “intelligentsia.”

It is an irony of fate that the same revolution which purports to enact into life the Marxian social program should belie the truth of Marx's materialistic interpretation of history and demonstrate that history is shaped by both economic and non-economic forces. Marx, as is well known, taught that history is a struggle between classes, in which the landed aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are raised successively to rulership as, with the progress of society's technical equipment, first one and then another class can operate it with the maximum efficiency. Marx assumed that when the time has arrived for a given economic class to take the helm, that class will be found in full possession of all the psychological attributes of a ruling class, namely, an indomitable will to power, no less than the more vulgar desire for the emoluments that come with power. Apparently Marx took for granted that economic evolution is inevitably accompanied by a corresponding development of an effective will to power in the class destined to rule. Yet whatever may be the case in the countries of the West, in Russia the ruling classes, the gentry and the bourgeoisie, clearly failed in the psychological test at the critical time. This failure is amply attested by the manner in which they submitted practically without a fight after the Bolshevik coup d'état.

To get at the secret of this apparent feebleness and want of spunk in Russia's ruling classes one must study a peculiarity of her history, namely the complete dominance of Russia's development by organized government. Where the historian of the Western countries must take account of several independent forces, each standing for a social class, the Russian historian may well afford to station himself on the high peak of government and, from this point of vantage, survey the hills and vales of the society which it so thoroughly dominated.

Apolitism runs like a red thread through the pages of Russian history. Even the upper layer of the noble class, the Boyars, were but a shadow of the Western landed aristocracy. When the several principalities became united with the Czardom of Muscovy, the Boyar was in fact no more than a steward of the Czar's estate and a leader of a posse defending his property; the most he dared to do was surreptitiously to obstruct the carrying out of the Czar's

intentions; he dared not try to impose the will of his class upon the crown. The other classes were even more apolitical. So little did the several classes aspire to domination that they missed many golden opportunities to seize and hold a share of the political power. In the seventeenth century, when the government was exceptionally weak after what is known as the "period of troubles," it convoked periodical "assemblies of the land" to help administer the country. But, as a matter of fact, these assemblies considered themselves ill-used because they were asked to take part in government and not once did they aspire to an independent position in the Russian body politic. Another and perhaps even more striking instance we find a century and a half later. Catherine the Great voluntarily turned over the local administration to the nobles and to that end decreed that the nobility organize themselves into provincial associations. But so little did they care for political power and active class prerogative that, in spite of the broadest possible charters, the associations of nobles were never more than social organizations in the conventional sense of the word.

Even less did the commercial class aspire to independence. In the west of Europe mercantilism answered in an equal measure the needs of an expanding state and of a vigorous middle class, the latter being no less ardent in the pursuit of gain than the former in the pursuit of conquest. In Russia, on the other hand, when Peter the Great wanted manufacturing, he had to introduce it by government action. Hence, Russian mercantilism was predominantly a state mercantilism. Even where Peter succeeded in enlisting private initiative by subsidies, instead of building up a class of independent manufacturers, he merely created industrial bureaucrats without initiative of their own, who forever kept looking to the government.

Coming to more recent times, we find that the modern Russian factory system likewise owes its origin to governmental initiative, namely to the government's railway-building policy. The government built the railways for strategic and fiscal reasons but incidentally created a unified internal market which made mass-production of articles of common consumption profitable for the

first time. But, even after Russian capitalism was thus enabled to stand on its own feet, it did not unlearn the habit of leaning on the government for advancement rather than relying on its own efforts. On its part the autocratic government was loath to let industry alone. The government generously dispensed to the capitalists tariff protection and bounties in the form of profitable orders, but insisted on keeping industry under its thumb. And though they might chafe, still the capitalists never neglected to make the best of the situation. For instance, when the sugar-producers found themselves running into a hole from cut-throat competition they appealed to the Minister of Finances, who immediately created a government-enforced "trust" and assured them huge dividends. Since business success was assured by keeping on the proper footing with a generous government rather than by relying on one's own vigor, it stands to reason that generally speaking the bourgeoisie, especially the higher bourgeoisie, could develop only into a class of industrial courtiers. And when at last the autocracy fell, the courtiers were not to be turned overnight into stubborn champions of the rights of their class amid the turmoil of a revolution. To be sure, Russia had entered the capitalistic stage as her Marxians had predicted, but nevertheless her bourgeoisie was found to be lacking the indomitable will to power which makes a ruling class.

The weakness of the bourgeoisie in the fight on behalf of private property may be explained in part by their want of allies in the other classes in the community. The Russian peasant, reared in the atmosphere of communal land ownership, is far from being a fanatical defender of private property. No Thiers could rally a Russian peasant army for the suppression of a communistic industrial proletariat by an appeal to their property instinct. To make matters worse for the bourgeoisie, the peasant's strongest craving was for more land, all the land, without compensation! This the bourgeoisie, being a bourgeoisie, was unable to grant. Yet it was the only sort of currency which the peasant would accept in payment for his political support. In November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized the government, one of their first acts was to satisfy the peasant's land hunger by turning over to his use all

the land. The proletariat had then a free hand so far as the most numerous class in Russia was concerned.

Just as the bourgeoisie reached the threshold of the revolution psychologically below par, so the wage-earning class in developing the will to rule outran all expectations, and beat the Marxian time-schedule. Among the important contributing factors was the unity of the industrial laboring class, a unity broken by no rifts between highly paid skilled groups and an inferior unskilled class, or between a well-organized labor aristocracy and an unorganized helot class. The economic and social oppression under the old régime had seen to it that no group of laborers should possess a stake in the existing order or desire to separate from the rest. Moreover, for several decades, and especially since the memorable days of the revolution in 1905, the laboring class has been filled by socialistic agitators and propagandists with ideas of the great historical rôle of the proletariat. The writer remembers how in 1905 even newspapers of the moderately liberal stamp used to speak of the "heroic proletariat marching in the van of Russia's progress." No wonder then that, when the revolution came, the industrial wage-earners had developed such self-confidence as a class that they were tempted to disregard the dictum of their intellectual mentors that this was merely to be a bourgeois revolution—with the social revolution still remote. Instead they listened to the slogan, "All power to the Soviets."

The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat reached maturity in the course of the abortive revolution of 1905–6. After a victory for the people in October, 1905, the bourgeoisie grew frightened over the aggressiveness of the wage-earning class and sought safety in an understanding with the autocracy. An order by the Soviet of Petrograd workmen in November, 1905, decreeing the eight-hour day in all factories sufficed to make the bourgeoisie forego its historical rôle of champion of popular liberty against autocracy. If the bourgeoisie itself will not fight for a democracy, reasoned the revolutionary socialists, why have such a democracy at all? Have we not seen the democratic form of government lend itself to ill-concealed plutocracy in Europe and America? Why run at all the risk of corruption of the post-revolutionary

government at the hands of the bourgeoisie? Why first admit the bourgeois into the inner circle and then spend time and effort in preventing him from coming to the top? Therefore they declined parliamentarism with thanks and would accept nothing less than a government by the representative organs of the workers—the Soviets. It is noteworthy that along with the total elimination of the bourgeoisie from the revolutionary government went a repudiation of intellectual leadership by the revolutionary masses.

It is one of the distinctive features of the present Russian revolution that it has brought to light a natural antagonism between the intellectuals as a class, however progressive and well-meaning, and the laboring masses. The intellectual cherishes the idea that when Dives is dethroned, he will be the logical successor. Yet he himself is in reality working against such an outcome. His agitation is directed to developing in the worker an overpowering sentiment of self-worth. When this is accomplished the worker is no longer in the disciple mood. He comes to recognize and to view critically the benumbed will to action so characteristic of intellectuals as a class, and soon forsakes him for a leader who has risen from the ranks. That sort of a leader will have assimilated what the intellectual has taught, but in addition he will remain emotionally at one with his following. He will never allow his will to action to be dissipated in a maze of theoretical considerations nor hesitate to destroy an established civilization on the chance of building a new one in its place. It is the opinion of the writer that the Bolshevik coup d'état was directed as much against rule by the intellectuals as a class as rule by the bourgeoisie. To be sure, the Bolsheviks themselves were headed by intellectuals. However neither Lenin nor Trotzky nor Lunacharsky are typical of the class as a whole but for one reason or other share the elemental passion of the workers for a class government of their own. On the other hand there has probably never been a government so typically intellectualist as that of Kerensky.

When, on the morrow of the March revolution, the wage-earners of Petrograd, recalling the events of 1905, rushed to enrol under the banner of the Workmen's and Soldier's Soviet, the intellectual socialist parliamentarians became for a while leaders.

What could be more logical than that Kerensky, Tchehidze, Skobelev, and the other Duma socialists should become the intermediaries between the Duma-created provisional government and the working masses. The bourgeoisie in the new government and the intellectuals in the soviet, notwithstanding that these were liberals and those socialists, still had much in common. Storm as the latter might against the bourgeoisie and the Provisional government they still believed in their hearts that the masses were too ignorant and too inexperienced to take charge. Accordingly they regarded the Soviet for which they spoke, not as aspirant for the place of the Provisional government but merely as a revolutionary watchdog during the transitional period pending the assembling of the Constitutional convention. These intellectuals in their theory of government were fundamentally democrats in our sense, that is, friends of universal suffrage and majority rule.

In a deeper sense the understanding between the bourgeoisie and the intellectual leaders speaking for the Soviets was not broken when the Soviet forces had forced the resignation of Milukof as minister of foreign affairs on the ground of his avowed imperialism. Nor was it broken during the Kerensky régime, even after the withdrawal of the non-socialist ministers from the cabinet. An all-socialist ministry was far from insuring an active socialistic policy by the Provisional government as long as it was a government by the intellectuals.

But Kerensky and his colleagues had misunderstood the psychology of the working class which was daily becoming more and more conscious of its strength. The abortive Bolshevik uprising in July should have given them fair warning. The Korniloff uprising in September caused popular sentiment to veer abruptly to the left. Peace with Germany was not in sight. Land and labor reforms apparently were shelved indefinitely. In October the Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Soviets. In November the industrial proletariat declared a dictatorship. The long-delayed constitutional convention met shortly afterward; and when it was found to be dominated by the same sort of intellectual leadership as in the overthrown Provisional government, the self-

avowed dictators unceremoniously dissolved it. From a prospective democracy, Russia became a Soviet Republic.

If we are right in laying the emphasis on the relative fighting will and fighting strength of the classes struggling for power rather than on the doctrines which they preach and the methods, fair or foul, which they practice, then the problem of Bolshevism versus democracy appears in a new light. No longer is it a matter of taking sides for or against the desirability of a Bolshevik rule or a dictatorship by the proletariat, but a matter of ascertaining the relative strength and probable behavior of the classes in a given society. It is as futile to denounce Bolshevism in Russia as to yearn for its advent in the United States. A ruling minority conscious of its perilous situation will inevitably rely on terror to maintain itself in power. Hence there is no occasion for shocked surprise at the bloody methods of the Bolsheviks in 1918. Our assurance that America will be spared Russia's experience ought to spring less from the conviction that Americans would not do what the Russian committee of struggle against the counter revolution has done than from the realization that America is the antipodes of Russia, where the bourgeoisie has no fighting spirit, where the tillers of the soil are half-communistic and willing to forego their natural share in government for a gift of land, and where the industrial proletariat is the only class ready and unafraid to fight. Bolshevism is unthinkable in America, because, even if by some unimaginable accident the government were overthrown and a labor dictatorship declared, it could never "stay put." No one who knows the American business class will even dream that it would under any circumstances surrender to a revolution perpetrated by a minority, or that it would wait for foreign intervention before starting hostilities. A Bolshevik coup d'état in America would mean a civil war to the bitter end, a war in which the numerous class of farmers would join the bourgeoisie in the defense of the institution of private property. But more than that: only a minority in the American wage-earning class is class conscious in the socialist sense of the word.

The typical American trade-unionist is without any ultimate social goal. He is content to endeavor to gain for labor in all

industries the same partial control which it already commands in the collective-bargaining industries such as coal mining and building. The social order which the average American workingman considers ideal is one in which organized labor and organized capital possess equal bargaining power. He wants, first, an equal voice with the employer in fixing wages and hours and, second, enough control over the productive processes to protect his health, job, and organization. Least of all does he wish to saddle himself with the trouble of running industry single-handed, without the aid of the employer. The writer believes this to be substantially true notwithstanding the agitation for the Plumb plan of railway reconstruction, which is now pressed by some of the officers of the railroad workers' brotherhoods. Such is the homely philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. And homely though it is, it is the result of nearly a century's experimentation in one or another direction, from syndicalism and anarchism to producer's co-operation and mutual insurance; for experience has shown that America's heterogeneous wage-earning class, cleft asunder by opposing racial, religious, and cultural inheritances, can be united upon one basis only—that of a desire for a life of decency and comfort which is common to all men whatever their previous condition. However unjustly the typical American trade-unionist may feel to have been treated by the employers or the government; however slow he may find the realization of his ideal of collective bargaining in industry, his stakes in the existing order, both spiritual and material, are too big to reconcile him to revolution. The truth is that the revolutionary labor movement in America looms up much bigger than it actually is. Though in many strikes since the famous textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1911, the leadership was revolutionary, it does not follow that the rank and file was animated by the same purpose. Given an inarticulate mass of grievously exploited workers speaking many foreign tongues and despised alike by the politician, the policeman, and the native American labor-organizer; given a group of energetic revolutionary agitators who make the cause of these workers their own and become their spokesmen and leaders, and a situation will clearly arise where thousands of workmen will be apparently marshaled under

the flag of revolution while in reality it is the desire for a higher wage and not for a realization of the syndicalist program that reconciles them to starving their wives and children and to shedding their blood on picket duty. If they follow a Haywood or an Ettor, it is precisely because they have been ignored by a Golden or a Gompers.

Yet there is an American revolutionary movement which owes its origin neither to chance nor to neglect by trade-union leaders. This is the movement of native American or Americanized workers in the outlying districts of the West or South—the typical I.W.W., the migratory worker, the industrial rebel, and the actor in many labor riots and lumber-field strikes. This type of worker has truly broken with America's spiritual past. He has become a revolutionist either because his personal character and habits unfit him for success under the exacting capitalistic system; or because, starting out with the ambitions and rosy expectations of the early pioneer, he found his hopes thwarted by a capitalistic pre-emptor of the bounty of nature, who dooms to a wage-earner's position all who came too late. In either case he is animated by a genuine passion for revolution, a passion which admits of no compromise. The recognition of trade unions and a democratization of industrial control will likely make great strides in reconciling the socialist minority of the trade-unionists to the mainstays of the American social order. Labor legislation and due attention to the needs of the exploited immigrant worker may forever wean the latter from his revolutionary leadership. But apparently nothing short of a social revolution will satisfy the genuine rebel—the I.W.W. Yet his numbers are too few to threaten the existing order.

DISCUSSION

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Most of the criticisms of modern democracy and of the revolutionary labor movements vibrate between two opposite poles. If we take the critics literally, both these extremes are menaces which threaten to destroy civilization.

At one extreme stands the will-to-power of a vigorous, radical, dynamic, selfish minority which has lost its head with regard to the common good, and

threatens not only its own suicide but that of the majority as well through its abuse of power. That this menace is always with us is perfectly true, no matter what form of social organization we are living under. Excess breeds excess. Arbitrary power wielded by one class swings over into arbitrary power by the opposing class when it gets its chance.

From the proscriptions under the Roman Republic and the Civil Wars of the Roman Empire, down to the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution or the present chaos in Russia, the same red menace has been apparent. Democracy is no more insured against such a hazard than is any other form of political and social organization. The only point is, however, that democracy must not be confused with the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the old question of who are the people. The friend of democracy must safeguard himself and the object of his affection against the temptation to replace one irresponsible autocracy by another.

The opposite menace which frightens the critic of democracy is perhaps even more real and insidious than the threat of arbitrary power wielded recklessly by a minority or a class upon its opponents, and this menace is rather the non-use of power by an individual or a class which ought to use it. I confess frankly that I am much more afraid of the passivity of the masses with regard to their real participation in responsible political life than I am about their rising up to cut my head off in some bloody revolution. It is this inertia of the great average of men which makes democracy so difficult of realization. It is the absentee voter or the absentee member of a labor organization who handicaps the development of vigorous, progressive social and industrial life. When one of the most progressive labor unions in the United States confesses that only about one-tenth of its membership seems to take any real interest in the day-by-day work and problems of the organization, and when we read the scanty returns of the vote on a grave public question such as an important constitutional amendment or a municipal bond issue, we begin to realize how pointed is this thrust of the critics.

Now whether this attitude of indifference or passivity is due to chronic fatigue or to lack of education or to a circumscribed range of interests or to the deadening effect of modern industry or to a lack of opportunity or incentive for real participation in social and industrial life, it is a problem that challenges the interest alike of the sociologist, the educator, the business man, and the promoter of the public health. Probably all of these explanations bear upon the case.

The phrase "industrial democracy" has attained wide currency. Now, as I see it, the chief danger of industrial democracy as it so frequently is misunderstood is the tendency to demand control without assuming responsibility. There is a widespread recognition that modern industry is altogether too autocratic, but it is not going to remedy the situation to allow a new driver to throw the old one off his seat and then fling the reins over the horse's head. This is simply another way of saying that a mere feeling of dissatisfaction

with the present organization of industry will not guarantee us a happier future or a better organization unless somewhere along the line a new crop of experience, training, and efficiency has been grown.

The most statesman-like and constructive labor leaders of the present recognize the danger to both organized labor and to industry which would inevitably happen unless the rank and file of the workers are educated up to a capacity for industrial management through courting and accepting and actually carrying through responsibility.

There is no doubt that the labor movement in the United States is consciously committed to what may be a profound modification of the present industrial order, if not a revolution. More articulate grows the demand month by month, more challenging the experiments, more convincing the proofs of able generalship and clever strategy on the part of the labor leaders. How this great prospective social and industrial transformation shall be accomplished hangs upon how far these leaders are able to act as good stewards of the power they have won or which has been thrust upon them; how far they can secure the intelligent following of their battalions; how far the rank and file of the workers actually participate in the work of their organizations, instead of remaining at home to enjoy their slippers and the evening newspaper; how far it is possible to couple up every new demand for control of business management with the frank and full acceptance of business responsibility; how far a flexible-minded mediatorship can be brought into action to help in the training of men for a wider extension of industrial responsibility and in the educating of present leaders of business to recognize the plain facts of a world in the process of transition. In plain English, whether we have in America a touch of the Bolshevikistic complaint more or less severe depends upon how far it is possible peaceably and in the educational temper to substitute mediation for dictation, arbitration for arbitrary use and abuse of power by either capital, labor, or the government.

I am not afraid of the Shakespeare's army of the I.W.W., nor am I afraid of a few Caesars, but I am convinced that we cannot have the real substance of democracy until through patient education we have brought up the great level of our people to the point of real preparedness for civic and industrial responsibility and of a real perception of what discipline, team work, and leadership mean. When and only when American social life has produced an average citizenship marked by a sense of service and not of exploitation, shall we have a true democracy and be free from the menace of its counterfeits.

DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

JAMES E. HAGERTY

This paper will be devoted to a discussion of the tendencies of democracy in the United States in recent years for the purpose of determining whether these tendencies are socialistic in character or are in the direction of socialism. Socialism will be discussed only incidentally in determining whether it will give more or less democracy than we now have in the United States.

As defined by standard authors socialism means the collective or national ownership and operation of the means of production and the social distribution of the products of industry. As Hillquit puts it, "Socialism advocates the transfer of ownership in the social tools of production—the land, factories, machinery, railroads, mines, etc.—from the individual capitalists to the people, to be operated for the benefit of all."¹

These definitions are stated at the outset to indicate the point of view of socialism held in this paper, to distinguish it from the loose and inaccurate conceptions of socialism so often expressed in literature on socialism of recent years. Collective bargaining, labor participation in the management of industry, accident, sickness, and old-age insurance, minimum-wage laws, etc., may be movements in the direction of socialism, but the acceptance of any one or of all of these movements as government policies does not establish socialism or the socialistic state.

The first analytical inquiry into democracy was made by De Tocqueville in his book on democracy in America after his visit to the United States early in the nineteenth century. In his treatise on democracy De Tocqueville stresses not political democracy but equality of conditions, and it is toward this equality between man and man that he conceived society to be irresistibly tending. The slight rôle assigned to political democracy is seen

¹ Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice*, p. 11.

in the following: "It is impossible to believe that equality will not eventually find its way into the political world as it does everywhere else. To conceive of men remaining forever unequal upon one point, yet equal on all others, is impossible; they must come in the end to be equal upon all." With reference to the real sovereignty of the people we note this statement: "If there be a country in the world where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people can be fairly appreciated, where it can be studied in its applications to the affairs of society and where its dangers and its advantages can be foreseen, that country is assuredly America."

J. S. Mill contended that whenever in a democracy the middle class enjoyed the same privileges as the aristocratic class and were in the majority, control would be in their hands. But he contended that control might stop short of a class lower than the middle class by denying to such class, even though more numerous, privileges belonging to the middle class. This point of view assumes class control, and in this respect he is in agreement with Leckey, who bases his argument against democracy on the ground that democracy means class control and that the group in society which is most numerous will be in control. As the most numerous class in all modern nations, says Leckey, is the most ignorant class, he concludes that democracy is the rule of ignorance, and that this rule may be seen in all modern nations in the increase of taxes for alleged public purposes, in the growth of public debts, and in the use of public funds for the benefit of certain classes. If Leckey were alive today he would feel that recent events had furnished him numerous and substantial arguments to support his thesis that the class in power controls legislation in its favor.

If classes and class distinctions are to be perpetuated in America, it is conceivable that the class which is in the majority may develop policies which will be in their own interest and antagonistic to other classes. As governments in the past have been in the hands of privileged classes who refused wage-earning and other classes a share in government, it is but natural to conclude that with a shifting of the centers of control the same classes which formerly enjoyed special privileges will now be denied the privilege of participation in the active affairs of society. In conformity with

this view it was but natural that Mill should conclude that the middle class would take the reins in hand as soon as it attained the ascendancy, and likewise that Leckey should conclude that control would pass to the relatively uneducated, because they will be the majority with universal manhood suffrage. Even De Tocqueville feared the tyranny of majorities and suggested some checks or restrictions to curb their power.

These writers assume that with universal suffrage the influence of each voter is as great as that of every other voter. They ignore the influence of free voluntary associations in a democracy and the methods by which public opinion is formed. Whatever people may have honestly believed over one hundred years ago with reference to the equality of men, no one now believes that all men are equal. Differences have always existed between men, and the influence of each one in a democracy is measured not alone by his vote but by his leadership and by his ability to influence public opinion. Moreover, any democracy founded on class rule and class prejudice is on a very unstable foundation, as the strength of a nation depends upon its utilization of the contributions of all classes which make up the life of a nation.

Under the doctrine of *laissez faire* it was believed that that government is best which governs least, and that all the individual needs is freedom for education, personal development, and the accumulation of wealth. We have, however, come to agree with Menger that there is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals, and that it is one of the functions of the state to protect the rights of the weak from the encroachments of the strong.

The recent democratic programs are based definitely upon the theory that men are not all equal. They have been initiated and are being carried out to equalize conditions and to remove as far as possible the inequality of opportunities. Back of these programs lies the fundamental belief that democracy is defeated when the people of a democracy are denied the opportunity for personal development and the maintenance of a reputable standard of living. This brings us back to the fundamental thesis of De Tocqueville, the equality of opportunity in a democracy. But De Tocqueville

visited America when the country was new, and there were no distinct classes and relatively few rich men and no congested centers of poverty. But as we grew older as a nation, inequalities in wealth, in social position, and in personal power increased, and the new democratic programs became necessary which are intended to accomplish in the twentieth century in America what De Tocqueville discovered existed in the early half of the nineteenth century.

These social-reform programs include accident, sickness, unemployment and old-age insurance, minimum-wage laws and housing codes, the legal requirement for sanitary and safety conditions in places of employment, child-labor laws restricting the hours and periods of work and the ages when children may work, compulsory school laws, collective bargaining and the right of labor to participate in the industrial side of the management of industry, and legislation preventing the exploitation of the weak. It is difficult for the writer to see wherein these democratic social-reform programs are tendencies in the direction of socialism as defined at the outset. All of these programs, or portions of a general program, assume the maintenance of the present economic system, and the continuance of competition under more or less definite restrictions. None of these except two or three restrict individual initiative or take away from the individual the responsibility of taking full care of himself and those dependent upon him.

Accident insurance is clearly a burden that should be borne by the industry rather than by the unfortunate individual and his family. When sickness can be traced to industry and the conditions of employment, the losses due to illness should also be borne by industry rather than by the victim. The case for unemployment and old-age insurance is not so clear. Through well-organized national, state, and local public employment exchanges and private employment bureaus, it will be possible to secure employment for practically all workers, and the evils due to unemployment will be greatly reduced without the government's resorting to the doubtful experiment of guaranteeing work to all wage-earners, or compensation to them in event of failure to find them positions. The assumption of the responsibility by the state of finding work for all wage-earners, or of guaranteeing them

wages in event of the failure of the state to find work for them, would have a demoralizing influence upon those who are not now too anxious to work, and likewise a demoralizing effect on those of independence and initiative in tending to destroy these worthy qualities in them.

In the present state of society old-age pensions will take from the individual responsibilities which he needs to develop him as a man and a citizen. Old-age pensions can be justified only as poor relief or as something which the recipient has already earned and to which he is entitled in his old age as a matter of right. If the latter is the correct interpretation of the case, then there is no justification for deferring the payment until old age is reached. If we are correctly informed, however, in most cases old-age pensions are considered as poor relief, and we have every reason to believe that at the present time old-age pensions would be considered poor relief in the United States.

The only justification for old-age pensions in the United States is found in the fact that unskilled wage-earners receive wages so low that they are unable to support themselves and their families in decency and comfort during their productive years and to lay aside enough to maintain them in old age. If this is the case, the solution of the problem is to be found, not in old-age pensions, but in minimum-wage laws which will give to the able-bodied, self-respecting wage-earner an income which will enable him both to satisfy the legitimate needs of his family while he is a producer and to make provision for himself in his old age when he is no longer a worker. To show that this program should not be considered a radical departure I submit the following facts.

At the present time employers charge against the cost of production in industry insurance charges against loss by fire and other hazards and a charge for depreciation of plant as legitimate costs of production. That these are necessary costs which industry must bear is everywhere admitted. Wage-earners are necessary factors in industry to the production of goods. Why should not a minimum wage to the wage-earner, such as will mean decency and self-respect in living conditions to the worker and his family, be charged against industry as a necessary cost of production, the

same as depreciation of plant and insurance is charged against industry as a necessary cost before any profits are declared? This cost, as other costs, may be passed on to society in terms of higher prices, which is a burden that society and not the individual worker should bear.

These above-named tendencies and others which are a part of the present-day democratic program are intended to remove the inequalities of society and to increase the opportunities to freedom and self-expression of many who are laboring under serious handicaps as a result of some of the factors of our present social system. With the reservations already made they will strengthen initiative and personal responsibility by removing the handicaps which prevail everywhere in the race of life, by giving greater freedom for the development of these qualities, and they will consequently make possible a broader education and contribute to the development of strength of character and personality, qualities upon which democracies must ultimately depend.

It is difficult to see that the acceptance of these programs as a social policy is either socialism or a step in the direction of socialism. Those who accept either the one or the other point of view must have in mind a different definition of socialism than the one stated at the beginning of this paper.

There are, however, other conditions in our present industrial system which may represent distinct tendencies in the direction of socialism. The democratic tendencies already referred to have in mind the equalizing of opportunities by promoting the welfare of the relatively weak. Those to which we now address ourselves have in mind the equalizing of opportunities by the curtailment of the influence and the privilege of the powerful. In his "New Freedom," President Wilson had in mind the restoration of equality by withdrawing the privileges which gave the strong a handicap in the race, rather than the direct protection of the rights of the weak. By eradicating all traces of monopoly and special privilege he claimed that competition would be free and economic forces would have free play for development in a beneficent manner.

The culmination of the Industrial Revolution was the large factory or plant as the producing unit. Within the last fifty years

we have observed another tendency in industry in the integration or consolidation of similar industries under a single management, which tendency is very distinct from that which took place in the Industrial Revolution. As long as the factory or plant was the producing unit, production took place with little or no knowledge of the output of rival concerns, and as the producer depended upon middlemen to market his commodities he had only indirect knowledge of the demands of the market which was often very meager. Production in excess, below, or in conformity to demands characterized this method of industry. That extraordinary wastes and friction in industry took place under this haphazard system of production cannot be denied. To correct these evils we have observed in the last twenty-five years an extraordinary movement in the organization of similar or allied industries under a single management in the so-called trusts. These organizations control the production not only of commodities of a class but of competing commodities, and also in some instances control the marketing of commodities. Through a system of interlocking directorates their control also extends to banks, trust and security companies, bonding agencies, etc. These organizations undoubtedly have good control of production and distribution, adapt production to consumption, and prevent much waste, loss, and unnecessary friction which were too common before their organization; but they also restrict or prevent competition, and the great gains in economy of organization go to the few who are in command and not to the many who are subordinates in the armies of production and distribution. The institutions here discussed are not democratic institutions.

The self-interest of individuals or of groups is more likely to be opposed to the common good now, when there is a great complexity of the social organism and when there is a greater dependency of the individual upon others, than in earlier times when the social organism was simple. The present program, then, is to promote and foster what is good in organization, to permit absolute freedom only where conditions of free competition prevail, and to exercise control where free competition does not exist. The purpose

of this control is threefold: (1) to prevent the levying of excessive charges upon consumers in high prices of commodities; (2) to prevent the accumulation of immense fortunes in the hands of a few people; (3) to prevent the undue control which may be exercised by wealthy men through gifts, legacies, and endowments.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, the Clayton and the Federal Trade acts, are comprehensive in character, dealing with combinations to prevent competition, fix prices, etc. The Federal Food Administration and the National War Labor Board regulated production, distribution, prices of commodities, and profits of producers as war measures during the period of the war. Many connected with these administrative agencies ardently hoped that the regulations of war time would be continued into times of peace, as they knew that industries should be regulated more than they had ever been regulated before. Within a year after the discontinuance of the Federal Food Administration we are observing prices going up to undreamed-of levels without any visible means of controlling the high cost of living.

After over thirty years of control of the railways by the Inter-State Commerce Commission the railways, as other quasi-monopolies, went under government control during the war, and now it is a serious question whether the railways should be returned to their original owners or should be nationalized under the control of the government. In the near future we must go through a similar experience of regulation of other large industries, not natural monopolies, in the interests of public policy, and if we fail in regulating them the only alternative is their nationalization under state socialism.

We are not prepared to admit that state ownership and control would be superior to state regulation of industry under private ownership and control, even if the latter should prove to be ineffective, but if government regulation be universally regarded a failure, it will be easy to follow paths to dangers of which we have no knowledge. To avoid this alternative it is imperative that there must be developed agencies of control comprehensive in character, very much like those developed by the Federal Food

Administration, which will command public respect, and which will be adequate to curb the avaricious propensities and antisocial tendencies of large as well as of small businesses.

If a time should come when the state will take over all large industrial organizations as well as natural monopolies, the employees of industry will discover a change of masters, but they will continue to be wage-earners of the government as they are now wage-earners under private employment, unless some changes in industrial organization precede the transfer. It is rather difficult to see wherein the condition of the employee of the state will be any better than that of the employee under private enterprise. Moreover, considerable adjustment is necessary in a change of employers. One of the chief difficulties attending the transfer of the railroads from private to public control consists in the necessity of a development of an *esprit de corps* among the employees of the government comparable to the *esprit de corps* developed among employees under private control.

But this is not the form of organization of industry which the great majority of socialists visualize under socialism. They are interested in industrial democracy. They desire a democratic organization of industry. If this democratic organization of industry is to come in socialism, the people must be prepared for it by training and by experience. In but one way and in but one organization is this training and experience now being given, that is, in the consumers' co-operative societies.

The consumers' co-operative society which has served as the best model for both Europe and America is the Rochdale Association established in 1844, which was the first successful English association. The fundamental principles of this organization are too well known to need restatement here. It is sufficient to state that the association is a democratic organization, in which the directors who manage the business are chosen by popular vote and the benefits of the organization go to the purchasers from the stores rather than to stockholders.

The co-operative retail stores could not succeed without wholesale societies, and the co-operative wholesale society of England was founded twenty years after the first retail society was formed.

The importance of this organization may be seen from the fact that its annual sales are in excess of \$150,000,000, an amount greater perhaps than the sale of any single institution in Great Britain; that it owns factories, farms, steamship lines, and has foreign agencies in all the leading markets of the world—to supply commodities to its over 15,000 retail co-operative societies scattered throughout England. Similar societies developed on a relatively large scale have met with success on the Continent of Europe.

If these retail and wholesale co-operative societies continue to succeed and expand, covering all branches of industry, and prove to be more successful than individual, non-co-operative enterprises, they will supplant them, and the industries of society will pass to the control of democratic voluntary co-operative societies.

Many attempts have been made to form consumers' co-operative societies in the United States even after the European models, but they have all met with failure, with the exception of those which have been established recently and have not been in existence long enough to determine whether they are likely to succeed or not. Consequently the American wage-earner has not had the experience and training in the democratic organization of industry that the wage-earner in Europe has had. (Wage-earners in America as elsewhere are, however, receiving good discipline and experience in some industries in having a share in the management of the part of business which has to do with the relations of labor to business.)

We are not likely to have a democratic organization of industry under the control of the state in the United States, such as some socialists desire, for many years to come, until these voluntary co-operative societies succeed in the United States as they have succeeded in Europe; and not even then, until they have supplanted non-co-operative enterprises by demonstrating that they are more efficient than these enterprises.

I do not care to consider in any detail socialism as an agency of more or less democracy than we now have, to say nothing of its workability. Socialism has never been tried. It has no history, and we can only conjecture what it is likely to bring. It is relatively

easy to give us pictures of an ideal society where everything will be in good working order, as the writers of utopias and other socialists have given us, but things seldom happen as we anticipate, especially when our anticipations extend into the remote future. It is safe to predict that if socialism does come we shall not have the kind of society socialists tell us we shall have. It is also safe to predict that if socialism does come those who are now proclaiming most loudly the virtues of socialism will not be the leaders in the new order of things, as practical leadership will be in demand then as now. If the theories of those advocating socialism come to pass it is also safe to predict that the individual will count for less and the state for more under the theory that society as a social organism must consciously determine its future development. Consequently the individual will become an instrument in the hands of society to accomplish its mission. This theory is the direct opposite of our present democratic theory of the individual in relation to society. This theory too is based upon the most charitable conception of socialism. If socialism should bring, not a democratic organization of industry, but centralized control under a bureaucratic system, then the individual as a self-determining unit of society will be of much less significance than he has ever been in the past.

DISCUSSION

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I have found Professor Hagerty's paper not only interesting but extremely sane, sound, and ably written. With its general ideas and most of its details I am in full agreement. He has given us a very clear idea as to what socialism really is, and a good general idea as to the general characteristics of democracy. I wish that he had had the time, or had taken the time, to tell us a little more about what democracy really is in its essence. Most of us, I am afraid, are content with the superficial observation that, at least so far as government is concerned, there is some connection between balloting and democracy. Some go farther and assert that there is no democracy except when there is balloting. Democracy therefore tends to set up a new god, the Almighty Ballot, and to worship it, declaring that the refusal to bow down and worship this god is disloyalty to democracy. It has seldom occurred to us to ask what the ballot is for, and whether there may not be other agencies that perform the same function in other fields that the ballot performs in the field of government.

The purpose of the ballot, as I understand it, is to make those who serve by governing sensitive to the desires and interests of those who are being served by being governed. In general, they who serve should do so with a sensitive regard to the desires of those whom they serve. That is as true in industry as in government.

Suppose that the employees of the federal Treasury should achieve some control over that department and run it more and more in their own interest. Would that be a move toward greater democracy or toward less democracy? I think that it would be the latter, though something depends upon the question for whose benefit the federal Treasury is run, or who is to be served by it. If its purpose is to serve those who work in it, then this move would be democratic. If it is to serve the general public, then to take its control out of the hands of the public, or to make it less sensitive to the desires of the general public, would be undemocratic. Because I believe it is intended to serve the public, therefore I think that the principles of democracy are realized when it is made sensitive to the desires of the public.

But how about any industry? Is it run primarily for the benefit of those who work in it or for the benefit of those who use its products? For the latter, in my opinion. Therefore they should have in their hands the power to make it sensitive to their desires. Is the ballot the only instrument that can give them this power? I think that they have a better instrument. They have the power to buy or to refuse to buy the product. This is vastly superior to the ballot wherever this power can be used. Where it cannot, the ballot is the best and only substitute, but it is a rather poor substitute.

The average business is today much more sensitive to the desires and wishes of those whom it is its function to serve than is any government on the face of the earth. The reason is that the average purchaser has a more effective means of expressing his wishes with respect to the manufacture of goods than the average voter has, or ever can have, with respect to government. Instead, then, of talking about making industry more democratic by introducing the ballot, we should realize that we should be making it less democratic by substituting a poorer for a better instrument for making those who serve sensitive to the wishes of those who are served. In short, if we will take the trouble to examine the real meaning of democracy, rather than its outward forms and symbols, we shall find that industry is today more democratic than any government is or can ever by any possibility become.

ERNEST W. BURGESS, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

In the paper on "Democracy and Socialism" Dr. Hagerty has safeguarded himself against criticism by limiting his discussion. In his enumeration of the recent tendencies of democracy in the United States, he has found little or no evidence or a trend toward socialism. The objection may be raised that in the paper no reference was made to municipal ownership of

public utilities, to the partial achievement of the economic program of the Non-partisan League, or to current experiments in industrial democracy. It is perhaps sufficient to point out, however, in support of Dr. Hagerty's conclusion, the contention of socialists that the program of social reform is not in the direction of socialism but toward state capitalism.

The narrowing of the field of discussion raises an interesting point. Dr. Hagerty's definition of socialism is essentially a definition of collectivism, namely, "the collective ownership and operation of the means of production and the social distribution of the products of industry." While this is a functional statement of the economic concept involved in socialism it is inadequate from the social psychological standpoint. Many who advocate collectivism would resent classification with socialists. William English Walling states the case concisely: "The only possible definition of socialism is the socialist movement." Socialism is, therefore, more than an economic idea; it is a class-conscious movement of the proletariat.

The master-class, subservient-class psychology has been ably presented before this Society, but mainly in an interesting and somewhat cynical analysis of the master-class attitudes as rationalizations of its habits and traditions, its interests and fears. The current social unrest has been interpreted more sympathetically as the balked reaction of the working classes to repression inherent in the capitalistic organization of industry and social life. Since in meetings of sociologists as well as of psychiatrists it now seems necessary to rely upon Freudian concepts, it seems desirable to develop the analysis of the psychology of the repressed classes. The current theories of social unrest, socialist, communist, bolshevist, are then the projections of wish-fulfilment. They are rationalizations of the interests and desires of a repressed but aspiring group. The emotional intensity of wishes and hopes which find no immediate practical expression but only a future utopian realization explains the sectarian and dogmatic character of socialism as an organized movement.

This interpretation of socialism may now be compared with our philosophy of democracy. All speakers agree that democracy as a movement in economics, in politics, and in religion, means the participation of individuals and of groups in our collective life: participation in forming public opinion, participation in decisions to promote the common welfare, and participation in the goods of humanity co-operatively produced. If, then, democracy is participation it must not only itself be pragmatic, but must apply functional tests to its activities. By pragmatic democracy I mean, therefore, an experimental co-participation of the members of the group in collective action. Where the basic characteristic of socialism and bolshevism has been utopian and dogmatic, the fundamental attitude of democracy is experimental and functional.

There can, then, be only tentative statements of the objectives of democracy. What is immediate, practical, and imperative is to promote con-

ditions favorable to the growth of pragmatic democracy. At present, three essentials in this direction are (1) the maintenance of freedom of communication; (2) the encouragement of present tendencies toward democratic experiments in our economic and social life; and (3) increased scientific study of social problems, of social policies, and of concrete social changes.

There is an old saw, "If wishes were horses, beggars might ride." Wishes are horses, labor is getting into the saddle. Will civilization "carry on," or be involved in a runaway?

E. C. HAYES, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS¹

There is one word that ought, I think, to be spoken before we separate.

We have talked about democracy and this, democracy and that, democracy and the other. We have discussed almost everything except democracy. Several of the speakers have said that they do not know what democracy is. One member of our association has said to me in private that he thought he should never use the word "democracy" again.

Where there is to be mass action there must be symbols. Language itself is a product of this necessity, and the symbols that stand for dominant concepts are to the political and social action of a people what flags are to an army, what the eagles of her legions were to Rome. Instead of casting doubt and dishonor upon the standards that symbolize the results of long and costly social evolution, it is better to define those symbols so that they will deserve the loyalty which they should and must command.

I am going to venture a definition of democracy. *Democracy is organisation devised and administered with impartial regard for the interests of all who participate in the organization as contrasted with organisation devised and administered with primary regard for the interests of the organisers.* There must be organizers and human nature being what it is, it is evident that social organization will tend strongly to be devised and administered with primary regard for their interests. Those who have the power, whether it be the power of military force, of economic resources, of ideas, or of prestige, are in a position to shape the social situation in their own interests. This is why democracy is an ideal always to be striven for, but perhaps never perfectly to be attained. This is why "democracy must always be militant." Democracy requires power in the hands of those who hope for better things. It depends upon the power of the many, when the many are instructed, and have the facilities for free communication, to make their chosen leaders the mightiest of the organizers.

Democracy is not an affair of government and politicians alone. It is not achieved so long as any of the great institutions of society are devised or administered in the interests of a class instead of with an impartial regard for the interests of all.

¹ This discussion is on the general topic of the Annual Meeting.

Democracy cannot be achieved by the selfish schemes of any social class, whether the plutocrats, the middle bourgeoisie, or the proletariat. Its very definition is organization devised and administered in the interest of *all* who participate in the organization. Neither does democracy imply the obliteration of all differentiations and distinctions, for there are differentiations which are involved in the nature of things and in the institutions of that efficient organization which is an indispensable condition of realizing the greatest total of good human experience. But the institutions must be administered with an impartial regard for the interests of all the participants in the organization.

The nearest possible approximation to this ideal—the only tolerable ideal for human society—will never be reached as the result of class conflict. Where tyranny exists it must be resisted; therefore class conflict, like slavery, polygamy, and kings by divine right, may mark a necessary step in social evolution. But no form of conflict can yield a final solution for social problems. We cannot have successful organization while the parts of the organization are fighting each other. Not conflict, but more and more inclusive *organization* is the keyword of progress, and organization means the co-operative endeavor of differentiated parts guided by a common ideal and a rational regard for the interests of each participant.

TENTATIVE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE GRADE AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF AMERICA

I. THE AIM OF SOCIAL-SCIENCE TEACHING IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This committee has grown out of a rapidly growing recognition in recent years on the part of sociologists of the social function of distributive scholarship. Nothing is more obvious than that public opinion in the long run controls the policies of democracy. It follows that a confusion of ignorant "isms" in the public mind is poor protection against the danger of a clash between rabid radicalism and extreme conservatism. If the present social crisis is to be successfully negotiated, there must be built up a substantial body of sound scientific public opinion relative to the social problems that confront us.

Among the determinants of public opinion the schools are of course the most conspicuous. Hence there has recently developed a much fuller recognition on the part of educational leaders of the civic function of education. The popular concept of the aim of education, particularly of secondary education, is beginning to be modified. The disciplinary ghost is fading, schooling as a badge of aristocratic exclusiveness is falling into disuse; and it is beginning to be discerned that the American high school has been raised up during the last half-century in order that it might train a citizenry for adjustment to a complex and problematical social environment. Special teaching of the social sciences is necessary to this end. This is a movement to which sociologists and economists may well lend their active, organized support.

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This change in the concept of aims is reflected in the rapidly changing status of social science in the curriculums. The movement to give it a much larger place is developing quite surprising proportions.

Several studies have been made of the present teaching practice.

Thereon Freese, A.M., a graduate student in economics and sociology at the University of Southern California, made in 1917 a study of the teaching of sociology in high schools. He summarizes his findings as follows:

Not only are history, civics, and economics being taught with emphasis upon their social aspect but many secondary schools have introduced courses in elementary sociology or social problems. Though most of these new courses are found in the central and western states, many educators in the eastern and southern states are heartily in sympathy with the movement. High-school sociology is still largely in the experimental stage, but the favorable results already obtained convince the writer that, unless superficial, ill-advised teaching throws the movement into disrepute, within a few years social problems courses will be common.

Professor H. H. Moore has made a more recent investigation under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Education. He sent out questionnaires to 5,054 high schools, that is, to about one-third of the high schools of the country selected at random. He reports as follows:

Seventy per cent of these 5,054 schools offer courses in current events.

All but 220 schools (4 per cent) teach one or more of the social studies, i.e., civics, economics, sociology, social ethics, and similar subjects. The number of schools teaching civics is 4,799 (95 per cent of the total replying). Of this number, however, a small majority, 2,404, appear to be teaching the old type of civics which deals primarily with the machinery of governments with little or no reference to the economic and social problems for the solution of which the machinery exists, but it is believed that these are rapidly giving place to texts of the new type.

Of the total replying, 1,824 (36 per cent) teach economics.

What is especially encouraging is that 431 schools report courses in sociology. It is very doubtful, however, whether the subject-matter taught would justify the use of the title "sociology." Only 136 report recognized texts. But to know that as many as 136 schools out of 5,054 are actually engaged in teaching sociology indicates a rapid development of the subject during the last ten years.

The replies show that civics is required in the year for which it is offered by 1,110 out of 1,478 schools.

Economics and sociology are required in only about one-third of the schools in which they are offered, economics in 697 out of 1,796 schools, and sociology in 136 out of 431 high schools.

Your committee sent out letters of inquiry to practically all the state superintendents of public instruction. The general impression to be gathered from them is about the same as that to be derived from the reports above, except that they reveal a keen, and in some cases an active, interest in the extension of these subjects in high schools.

In elementary schools attempts are being made here and there to give civic instruction. The extent of these attempts your committee does not know. The work in this field at Indianapolis has been described by Arthur W. Dunn, special agent in civic education for the United States Bureau of Education, in Bulletin 17 (1915). Elementary teachers are making the social approach to other subjects more than high-school teachers are. This is true in the case of geography, history, and especially hygiene.

The growth in favor of the civic aim of secondary education is indirectly reflected in the tendency relative to college-entrance requirements. The ideal toward which we are moving seems to be fifteen or sixteen units, only two of which, English, are specified; with very elastic acceptance of modern high-school subjects for the remaining thirteen or fourteen units. A scientific study has recently reduced to charts the well-known fact that in general the farther west one goes, the more nearly this ideal is approached. This tendency is to be approved, of course, because it liberates the high schools for the performance of their civic function.

III. SPECIAL AGENCIES ACTIVELY PROMOTING SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING

Numerous agencies are actively advocating the extension of social science teaching. Your committee has a very interesting collection of letters from university professors of secondary education. Without exception they are vigorously promoting the civic and socializing aims of secondary education. They express surprisingly little dissent from the detailed program of studies presently to be set forth in this report.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this whole movement is the number and prestige of the committees that are working concurrently upon the same problem.

The National Education Association has a Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, of which Clarence D. Kingsley is chairman. Of this commission there is a subcommittee on Social Studies, of which Thomas Jesse Jones is chairman and on which the committee of the Sociological Society is now represented. This commission has issued several bulletins, the most important of which are United States Bureau of Education Bulletin 23 (1915), *The Teaching of Community Civics*, and Bulletin 28 (1916), *Social Studies in Secondary Education*. These bulletins are the chief sources of guidance for school administrators. However, correspondence reveals the fact that the leaders of this commission are developing a fuller appreciation of the possibilities of scientific sociology as a high-school subject than is revealed in the bulletins they published several years ago.

There is also a "Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools, a joint committee of the American Historical Association and the National Board of Historic Service in co-operation with the Commission on a National Program for Education of the National Educational Association." The personnel of this board is Joseph Schafer, Daniel C. Knowlton, William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy Stanton Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Andrew C. McLaughlin. The prestige of this committee consists partly in the fact that it was a committee of the American Historical Association which formulated the program of history and social studies that the public schools have been using for the past fifteen or twenty years. The *Historical Outlook* for November, 1919, contains an article by Professor Joseph Schafer, chairman of this committee, in which their program of social studies is tentatively set forth.

The National Committee for Teaching Citizenship is a self-constituted committee, of which Thomas H. Balliet is chairman, Daniel C. Knowlton, vice-chairman, and Harry H. Moore, secretary. The executive board contains a number of well-known names, such as Roscoe L. Ashley, Charles A. Beard, Henry R. Burch, Edward O. Sisson, E. T. Towne, James H. Tufts, and others. The committee is "frankly a propaganda committee," and is

"organized to encourage the education of the boys and girls of the United States concerning the origin and development of liberty, co-operation, and democracy; the economic, political, and social problems confronting democracy today; the responsibility of citizens in a democracy and the ends and value of living." The National Committee on the Teaching of Citizenship enjoys the co-operation of the Commission of the Bureau of Education.

There is also a Committee of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, of which Professor Charles H. Judd is secretary. He writes: "I think we shall urge some social studies in every year of the junior and senior high school. We shall also go into some detail with regard to the material that can be used for such courses."

One of the most encouraging features of the work of these various committees is their manifest desire to co-operate. The desirability of working out some proposed program of social studies which all can unite in promoting is, of course, obvious.

IV. PROPOSED PROGRAM OF SOCIAL STUDIES

After a careful study of the published recommendations of the committees just mentioned, and a diligent assembling of expert educational opinion, your committee recommends the following program of social studies:

Grades I to VI.—One full round of elementary, general, and American history, with emphasis on the economic and social sides. This corresponds to the tentative recommendations of the Schafer committee, except that they would confine it to American history. We think the expansion of elementary history twenty years ago to include general history was a great gain, because such general history inculcates the point of view of social evolution and a cosmopolitan concept of international relations. These are more necessary than ever.

Grades VII, VIII, and IX.—Geography, with special emphasis on the social side; American history and government, with some attention to the European background, and emphasis on the

economic and social side; and elementary social science or "community civics." This we understand to be in substantial accord with the recommendations of the Schafer committee and the Dunn report for the N.E.A. Commission.

The course in elementary social science (commonly called community civics) should be given in the ninth grade under the six-three-three plan, but under the eight-four plan it should, for obvious reasons, be divided between the eighth and ninth grades, the other half-year in each case being devoted to American history. In content this course should be a descriptive and evaluating account of the co-operative activities of the social life, not merely local but general also. Individual interdependence should be thoroughly developed as a concept and motivated as an ideal.

Grades X, XI, and XII.—For this cycle the N.E.A. Commission recommends: Grade X, European history; Grade XI, American history; Grade XII, problems of democracy, social, economic, and political. The Schafer committee recommends: Grade X, modern world-history; Grade XI, American history from the beginning of the national period; Grade XII, social science. It will be observed that these two programs are in substantial agreement, and we approve them with the following recommendations:

The tenth-grade history course should consist of an outline survey of social evolution. It should include an account of prehistoric primitive life, after the manner of Breasted's *Ancient History*. It should emphasize the economic and social sides, trace the development of fundamental ideals and institutions, and reveal the solidarity of modern nations.

The eleventh-grade history course should emphasize the social and economic aspects of American life, should devote much less time than is customary to colonial history, and very much more than is customary to the period since the Civil War. Incidentally it should familiarize the student with the machinery of our government.

The twelfth-grade course should be general social science, devoted chiefly to sociology and economics. Sociology should

precede economics. There should be a definite aim to teach the principles of these sciences in so far as high-school Seniors are capable of understanding them. The approach, however, should be through concrete facts and problems, particularly through social groups with which the pupils are most familiar, such as the neighborhood, the local community, the play gang of adolescents, and the family. With respect to those phases of sociology and economics on which there is general agreement, the method should be as definite as in the physical sciences. The mere forensic exchange of ignorant opinion is to be deprecated in favor of the acquisition of copious and accurate knowledge. The aim should be to develop self-reliant thinking, but on a basis of knowledge of and respect for exact science in the social field.

V. SOCIAL-SCIENCE COURSES IN DETAIL

The increasing interest of secondary-school teachers in social science is calling forth numerous suggestions as to the detailed content of the courses for grades nine and twelve. The greatest need is for suitable textbooks. The most available high-school textbooks in sociology that have come to the attention of your committee are: *American Social Problems*, by Burch and Patterson (Macmillan), *Social Problems*, by Towne (Macmillan), and *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, by Ellwood (American Book Company). For the eighth or ninth grade there are very few textbooks available. *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series B, by Judd and Marshall (Bureau of Education), is a symposium; *Elementary Social Science*, by Leavitt and Brown (Macmillan), is too brief. *Organized Self-Government*, by Dawson (Holt), and *The New Civics*, by Ashley (Macmillan), are sociological civics but not sociology. The committee knows of several other texts in process of preparation. Publishers are actively searching for manuscripts. It is to be hoped that numerous new texts will shortly appear, written by authors who know, not only sociology and economics, but also the psychology and technique of high-school instruction. The struggle for existence among such texts

will undoubtedly eventuate in the survival of the best. Results can probably be secured in no other way.

VI. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

In addition to the foregoing suggestions your committee offers the following additional recommendations.

1. Most of the other subjects of the high-school curriculum should be definitely correlated with social science. Elementary teachers are in advance of secondary teachers in this respect. To illustrate in the case of literature: The customary approach is historical, and the traditional appraisals of literary value are dogmatically enforced. This is unpsychological, with the result that children's interest in literature is often killed instead of stimulated, and the social origin and function of literature is usually undiscerned. There is much good literature dealing with contemporary social phenomena and problems. Such literature appeals to the instinctive interests of most pupils, and constitutes the psychological approach to the classics. The social value of such a study of literature would be immense. The same principle could readily be illustrated in the case of other subjects.
2. The Froebelian principle of social participation should be applied to discipline, organization, and pedagogical method in high schools, as Froebel himself applied it to the kindergarten, and as Dewey and his followers are applying it in the lower grades. The failure to apply this method partly explains the failure of high schools to interest and hold adolescents. Only by organized social participation can ideals and habits be socialized.
3. Appreciation (in the technical sense of that term as used in pedagogy) is an essential aim of social science teaching. An expert in secondary education admits that he does not know what is intended to be meant by social religion. No other confession could more shamefully uncover the nakedness of moral education in American schools. Social goals must be idealized until they appear as a Kingdom of God; social responsibility must be motivated till it becomes the equivalent of a religious duty.
4. Sociology should be insisted upon as an essential part of the training of all teachers. It should be required on a par with

psychology as a condition of certification. It should be a required subject in all colleges of education, normal schools, and teacher-training courses in high schools. A body of teachers who themselves lack the social point of view can hardly be relied upon to carry out successfully the reforms urged in this report.

Ross L. FINNEY, University of Minnesota, *Chairman*
E. S. BOGARDUS, University of Southern California
C. A. ELLWOOD, University of Missouri
CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University
JOHN PHELAN, Massachusetts Agricultural College
WALTER R. SMITH, University of Kansas
A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STANDARDIZATION OF RESEARCH OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The chairman of the committee was not at the Philadelphia meeting at which the resolution providing for the appointment of this committee was passed. He was not informed of his appointment as chairman until the Richmond meeting a year ago. Arriving late in that meeting, he did not have an opportunity to call the committee together until the last evening of the meeting. An attempt was made to get as many members of the committee together as could be reached on the last day of the conference. Many of them had gone home, and some were not at the meeting. Those who were there, however, got together at dinner on the last day of the conference for a general discussion of what the committee might do. It was unfortunate that Miss Eaves, who had offered the resolution at Philadelphia, could not be found at the hotel, and therefore was not present at this informal meeting of the committee.

In the discussion in this informal group a number of different courses were suggested as open to the committee.

First, it might as a body undertake research along some one line. Second, it might not undertake any investigation as a committee and yet endeavor to stimulate pieces of research by individuals in the universities and among members of the Society. Third, it might serve as an editorial body to bring together the results of various pieces of research conducted by its members and publish its results in a report to the Society. Fourth, it might seek to collate and compare the different methods of research in the hope that ultimately certain standards of investigation might be established and thus social investigation be advanced by the discussion of different methods and the standardization of investigation.

In view of the resolution which created the committee, which says, ". . . . whose duties shall be the correspondence with college

teachers and other members of the Society interested in such research, with the view of the collection of data which may be prepared for presentation at the next meeting of the Sociological Society," it seemed best to those of the committee who were present to follow the line marked out by the resolution.

Unfortunately the chairman of the committee was absent from the university, engaged in Red Cross work until last September, and could not find time to give any attention to the matter until then. Soon after his return to the university he sent letters to each of the members of the committee, asking them to submit to him a statement of the pieces of research on which they were engaged, and asking also that they submit to him the names of other people who were engaged on pieces of research, with whom he might correspond and secure from them a statement of the investigation on which they were engaged and, if possible, the results obtained by them, so that a statement of the findings could be presented to the meeting. In reply to this letter he heard from five of the committee. The other member of the committee did not reply. Professor Todd replied that he was on leave of absence from the University of Minnesota, and therefore his research activities had been "scaled down to the vanishing-point." He suggested, however, that I correspond with Professor Bernard, of the University of Minnesota. I did so, and Professor Bernard submitted a report on two pieces of research on which he is engaged.

Professor Mangold, of the University of Missouri, replied that he had not carried on any pieces of research during the last two years.

Mr. Eugene T. Lies replied that he had been so busy in different lines of war work during the last three years that he had had no chance to do any special research work. He suggested, however, that I correspond with Miss Breckinridge, of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. I did so, and she referred me to Miss Edith Abbott, who has charge of the investigations by the school.

Professor Robert S. Park replied, sending outlines of two pieces of research in which he has been engaged during the past year.

Miss Lucile Eaves, of Boston, replied, naming a number of pieces of research in which she is engaged for the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union.

I also talked with Professor Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, concerning a piece of research in which he and his students are engaged.

PIECES OF RESEARCH REPORTED BY CORRESPONDENCE

Professor Bernard, of the University of Minnesota, writes that he is carrying on two investigations, one in connection with rural publicity and the other a study of the usages regarding the term "instincts" in the current literature of the social sciences.

Professor Robert S. Park reports one investigation concerned with the foreign-language press and the other with immigrant heritages. He sent a preliminary outline of the study of the foreign-language press and certain of his schedules concerning immigrant heritages.

Miss Lucile Eaves reports:

Practically my entire time is given to directing a large number of such enterprises. I am almost ashamed to confess that I directed forty pieces of research work during the past year. Stated briefly, the topics were:

A statistical study of a thousand records of juvenile employees of retail, department, dry-goods, and clothing stores.

Tabulation of data found on the death certificates of influenza cases.

A series of studies made for the purpose of discovering the conditions of work and vocational training suitable for employees in the kitchens and dining-rooms of hotels and clubs.

Short studies made by students at the School of Social Work. (These were tabulations of data supplied by various social agencies with whom they were engaged in field work. The best of these studies were based on hospital records available to students preparing for medical social service.)

We are about to submit to the Publication Committee of the Federal Board of Vocational Education a book embodying the results of a series of studies of the training needed by employees of retail stores.

We have made several studies in the field of what is commonly spoken of as "Americanization" activities.

At the present time my class in statistics at the School of Social Work is engaged in the tabulation of a thousand records of industrial accidents suffered by wage-earning children. The data were taken from reports of factory inspectors.

The Research Department of the Union is studying the great accumulation of records of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The report for this year will deal with the functions and powers of public guardians for neglected children.

Miss Abbott writes that her research activities are entirely devoted to the training of research students at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

The chairman of the committee, since his return to the university, is engaged in a study of case work of a Red Cross Home Service section. The work is done by the Senior students in the university, under his direction.

Before leaving the university for Red Cross work, the chairman was engaged in a piece of research for the Cleveland Foundation on *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*, a part of the recreation survey made by that Foundation. This has since been published by the Foundation.

This fragmentary report of the pieces of research that are now being undertaken by the members of the committee and immediate friends is in no sense complete. It is hoped that next year a report can be made on a rather complete study of pieces of research that are being made throughout the country. This study indicates something, perhaps of the value of a more complete study and report.

METHODS EMPLOYED

Miss Eaves writes: "Our methods of work are those generally practiced in co-operative statistical investigations. We prepare schedules, tabulate data, and write summaries of what we find to be the important characteristics or tendencies in the subjects studied."

Miss Abbott says: "In the Department of Social Investigation, field work is provided under the immediate direction and supervision of the school. Not more than fifteen students each year are given the opportunity of sharing in this work. . . . The work from beginning to end, from planning of the schedule to the tabulation and organization of the material, is done in our own workroom."

Professor Bernard writes concerning his investigation of rural publicity:

I am using two methods in the first piece of investigation. (1) I undertook an analysis of all of the weekly newspapers in a single state (Missouri), counting the column inches for the following classifications: advertising, total reading matter, feature matter, all items dealing with rural subjects, and all items dealing with rural problems. I made numerous sub-classifications under the last four headings and especially the last two headings, my point being to find out just what the rural weekly newspaper contained about the life and problems of the farmer. I did this classification and measuring work with a great deal of care. This work of measuring some 1,500 issues required one full month of time (August). I also made analyses of the general non-rural reading matter for purposes of comparison. I have totaled these results and have expressed them in their relative amounts in forms of percentages. The object I had in view, as I said above, was to find out to what extent the rural newspaper is really serving the group from which it draws most of its subscribers, in order that I may be able to make some suggestions as to how policies might be changed the better to meet its wants. I also distinguish between home-print and foreign-print matter, which I think adds something to the value of the conclusions, especially with reference to sources of materials on rural life. I also classified the types of materials according to types of communities, sizes and circulation of papers, their politics, and the size of the community served, thus making many cross-classifications with interesting results. (2) The second part of this rural publicity investigation has to do with the types of periodicals and newspapers that the farmers read. This investigation is still in progress. I am taking all of the surveys that I have been able to collect and classifying them according to the types of communities which they represent, trying to find out, first, what sorts of literature the farmer reads in general, and second, what correlations there are between the type of literature he reads and the kind of community life which surrounds him. I have made one survey of the reading habits of a rural community. I am planning to undertake others with the help of my students.

The second investigation dealing with the usage of instincts is a very simple method. I am simply making a note of all of the instincts and all of the terms "instinctive" and "instinctively," with the objects to which they apply, that I find in literature of the social sciences. I am able to secure some help from volunteers in this and kindred fields, especially from the fields of general literature. I am classifying these instincts as I collect them according to certain general headings, following in the main those outlined by McDougall and other writers on instinct. My object here is to find out what instincts are most used by the social-science people in general, and also what type of instincts are most used by the several divisions of the social sciences. I am also interested to find out how the usage of instinct in the sense of relative

definiteness compares among these groups, and how the social sciences differ in these respects from the biological sciences and the more artistic class of writers.

Professor Park on the foreign-language press, so far as I can judge from his preliminary outline, is proceeding by studying the publications themselves and interviewing those interested in their publication. His outline of this study consists of five parts: first, natural history of the foreign-language press; second, contents of the foreign-language press; third, the foreign-language community and the foreign-language press; fourth, social forces and the press; fifth, control of the press.

In his second investigation on immigrant heritages, so far as I can judge from the material sent me, he has used the questionnaire. This questionnaire is called a life-history questionnaire, to be filled in by the investigator. The points covered in this questionnaire are: (1) social status; (2) social attitude; (3) crisis and change; (4) typical contacts with American institutions; (5) vocation; (6) leisure-time habits; (7) political experience. He writes that he does not "believe that he is able to make a brief and definite statement as to reasons why this method of investigation is used; however, in the first volume of Dr. W. I. Thomas' work on the Polish peasant there is a methodological note which covers the field. In general the method of these studies is to use life-histories and any sort of material, historical, biographical, or literary, which reveal social attitudes, and to use these in the interpretation of social institutions or organizations."

The chairman in his study for the Cleveland Foundation of wholesome citizens and spare time used the life-history questionnaire, filled in by special investigators, to secure his data. These questionnaires were then studied by himself, and the data were tabulated and interpreted by him in his report. The results are found in a little volume published by the Cleveland Foundation, *Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time*.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee has learned with satisfaction that other groups of social scientists have felt the importance of promoting research.

It feels that this Society should co-operate with the other groups in research work, as well as perhaps undertake to advance research on its own account.

The committee understands that the Academy of Arts and Sciences has set in motion a plan to co-operate with a French society to study problems connected with the humanities. The committee believes that this society should co-operate in that enterprise.

The Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston is engaged constantly in studying a number of problems relating to women. The director of research in that organization has suggested that this committee plan for a study of some problem of interest to women which could be carried on under the direction of the Union. The committee would determine the problem and the method by which professors of sociology and economics in the colleges could co-operate in the study and secure the assistance of these teachers and their students in the enterprise. The data collected might be used by the students in their college work. It could then be forwarded to Boston to be tabulated and interpreted by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union and published by it. Since the Union gives three scholarships to college women each year, these student papers could serve as one of the means by which such scholars would be selected. It is recommended that the Research Committee for next year give this plan serious consideration.

Another possibility is that the committee itself attempt to collect and study co-operatively investigations already made, for the purpose of ascertaining the relative value of the different methods now employed by investigators of social problems, perhaps ultimately standardizing units and methods of inquiry. Whether standardization is at present possible or desirable or not, a classification of the different methods used would have considerable value to those engaged in research. The committee's report of such a study would certainly be of interest to this body and would stimulate research.

It is recommended also that the committee be authorized to enlist the interest and services of those engaged in research in

any of the social sciences, whether members of this Society or not, in order that the Society may enjoy the results of their experience and have the benefit of their advice.

It is also recommended that a session of the next meeting be devoted to a discussion of social research. It is believed by the committee that papers representing descriptions of pieces of research by the persons responsible for them, as well as the results of such studies, would be of great value to the Society and would do much to stimulate research by the members.

It is the conviction of the committee that the time has come when sociology should make more serious efforts to study scientifically the field. It should more earnestly endeavor to answer the questions as to whether sociology is a science. It should press more vigorously forward to establish a body of knowledge which could be called sociological and develop a method which would be admittedly scientific.

J. L. GILLIN, *Chairman*
LUCILE EAVES
EUGENE T. LIES
GEORGE B. MANGOLD
ROBERT S. PARK
A. J. TODD
HOWARD B. WOOLSTON

PROGRAM OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING,
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 29-31, 1919

General Subject: "The Problem of Democracy"

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29

9:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M. Registration. Lobby of the Red Room, nineteenth floor, Hotel La Salle

8:00 P.M. Joint meeting with the American Economic Association, PRESIDENT HARRY PRATT JUDSON, University of Chicago, presiding. Address: "The Nature of Our Economic Problem," HENRY B. GARDNER, president of the American Economic Association. Address: "A Working Democracy," FRANK W. BLACKMAR, president of the American Sociological Society.

11:00 P.M. Smoker.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 30

8:30 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee.

9:30 A.M. Session on "Democracy in Politics," F. W. BLACKMAR, presiding. Address: "Democracy and Our Political System," U. G. WEATHERLY, University of Indiana. Discussion: FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, Columbia University; E. C. HAYES, University of Illinois. Address: "Democracy and Partisan Politics," JOHN M. GILLETTE, University of North Dakota. Discussion: GEORGE E. HOWARD, University of Nebraska; A. G. KELLER, Yale University.

11:00 A.M. Session on "Democracy and Industrial Life," JAMES Q. DEALY, presiding.

Address: "Democracy and Labor," MATTHEW WOLL, president International Photo-Engravers' Union, Chicago. Discussion: A. W. SMALL, University of Chicago; W. B. BODENHAFER, University of Kansas. Address: "Some Psychological Aspects of Industrial Reconstruction," A. B. WOLFE, University of Texas. Discussion: JESSE H. BOND, University of North Dakota.

2:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy in Social Life," E. C. HAYES, presiding. Address: "Democracy and Community Organization," DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University.

Discussion: GRAHAM TAYLOR, Chicago; PAUL L. VOGT, University of Pennsylvania; JESSE F. STEINER, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

PROGRAM OF THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING 261

Address: "Democracy and Class Relations," F. STUART CHAPIN, Smith College.

Discussion: CHARLES H. COOLEY, University of Michigan; CECIL C. NORTH, Ohio State University.

3:30 P.M. Session on "Democracy and Philanthropy," A. W. SMALL, presiding.

Address: "Modern Philanthropic Movements in Their Relation to Democracy," J. L. GILLIN, University of Wisconsin.

Discussion: M. C. ELMER, University of Minnesota; E. L. EARL, Drew Theological Seminary; J. ELBERT CUTLER, Western Reserve University.

Address: "Religion and Democracy," CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, University of Missouri.

Discussion: E. A. ROSS, University of Wisconsin; ALLAN HOBEN, Carleton College.

8:00 P.M. Joint session with the American Association for Labor Legislation on "Democracy and Industrial Life," FRANK W. BLACKMAR, presiding.

Address: "The Challenge of the Industrial Situation in America," JOHN A. FITCH, New York School for Social Work.

Address: "America's Insularity in the International Protection of Labor," JOHN B. ANDREWS, New York.

Address: "Democracy and Reconstruction in Europe," F. K. RATCLIFFE, former secretary London Sociological Society and editor of *Sociological Review*; at present on the Editorial Staff of the *London Daily News*.

Discussion.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 31

9:00 A.M. Session on "Democracy and Education," J. ELBERT CUTLER, presiding.

Address: "The Problems of Educating a Democracy," WALTER R. SMITH, University of Kansas.

Discussion: SUSAN KINGSBURY, Bryn Mawr College; JAMES Q. DEALEY, Brown University.

Address: "Vocational Factors in Democratic Education," DAVID SNEDDEN, Columbia University.

Discussion: E. R. GROVES, New Hampshire College, L. L. BERNARD, University of Minnesota.

10:30 A.M. Report of Standing Committees, F. W. BLACKMAR, presiding.

Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Sociology in the Grade Schools and High Schools of the United States: ROSS L. FINNEY, chairman, University of Minnesota. Discussion.

Report of the Committee on Standardization of Research: J. L. GILLIN, chairman, University of Wisconsin. Discussion.

Report of the Committee on Statistics: W. M. ADRIANCE, Washington, D.C., chairman. Discussion.

12:00 M. Business Meeting.

2:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy and Race Problems," F. STUART CHAPIN, presiding.
Address: "Racial Factors in Democracy," JEROME DOWD, University of Oklahoma.
Discussion: ROBERT E. PARK, University of Chicago; HERBERT A. MILLER, Oberlin College.
Address: "Americanization," JANE ADDAMS, Hull-House, Chicago; GRACE ABBOTT, Immigrant's Protective League, Chicago.
Discussion: WARREN S. THOMPSON, Cornell University; SOPHONIA P. BRECKINRIDGE, University of Chicago.

3:00 P.M. Session on "Democracy and the *Isms*," CECIL C. NORTH, presiding.
Address: "Democracy and Bolshevism," SELIG PERLMAN, University of Wisconsin.
Discussion: A. J. TODD, University of Minnesota.
Address: "Democracy and Socialism," JAMES E. HAGERTY, Ohio State University.
Discussion: THOMAS CARVER, Harvard University; E. W. BURGESS, University of Chicago.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 20, 1918, TO DECEMBER 19, 1919

Membership Statement

The total membership of the American Sociological Society for the calendar year 1919 numbers 870. The membership for 1918 was 810. This latter number has been altered by the following changes in our membership lists:

Membership in 1918.....	810
Members resigning.....	53
Members dropped.....	99
Members deceased.....	6
	<hr/>
Total lost.....	158
	<hr/>
Members renewing, ex officio	1
Members renewing, exchange.....	6
Members renewing, paid.....	644
New members.....	219
	<hr/>
Total for 1919.....	870

Campaign for New Members

In co-operation with the publishers of the *American Journal of Sociology*, the University of Chicago Press, the Society has conducted a campaign for new members this autumn, the expenses of the campaign to be shared equally by the Press and the Society. Personal typewritten letters signed by the Secretary were sent to the following:

Persons applying but not joining in 1918.....	25
Persons recommended by members.....	138
Contributors to the <i>American Journal of Sociology</i> (last year)	31
Purchasers of the <i>Proceedings</i>	153
Members of the <i>American Philosophical Society</i>	230
A Special California list.....	150
Miscellaneous.....	107
	<hr/>
Total.....	834

Printed letters sent by the Publishers to members of the
National Council of Social Work..... 900

All letters were mailed by December 10, 1919.

Mailing Duebills

In order that the members might receive preliminary programs before the annual meeting and to meet the many requests, the duebills for 1920 were mailed in advance of the publication of the November issue of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Government envelopes each containing a duebill, return envelope, program, letter from the President, and recommendation blanks were mailed by December 10, 1919.

The letter referred to was written by President Blackmar and was printed on small sheets to permit including without extra postage. It urged that efforts be made to help increase the membership of the Society by sending to the Secretary the names of interested people.

Membership List to Publishers

It is suggested that in advance of the distribution of the membership list, a double post card be sent to each publisher asking if the list is desired. By this means two points might be gained: (1) A definite name and address secured, thus assuring the list reaching the right person. (2) Both postage and labor would be saved by avoiding an indiscriminate distribution. There were many returns last year by the post-office and frequent requests received from publishers to whom lists had been sent.

Deaths

The Secretary regrets to report the deaths during the year of the following members: Lewis Mohr, Chicago, Illinois; George E. Dimock, Elizabeth, New Jersey; Howard Woodhead, University of Pittsburgh.

Invitations for the 1920 Meeting

Invitations have been received for the next year's meeting from the following organizations: Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, Merchant's Association of New York, St. Louis Convention and Publicity Bureau, Columbus Conventions and Publicity Association, San Francisco Convention and Tourists' League, Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Commerce of Asbury Park, Detroit Convention and Tourists' Bureau, Asheville Board of Trade, and Chamber of Commerce, Kansas City, Missouri.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FISCAL YEAR, DECEMBER 19, 1918, TO DECEMBER 17, 1919

Audit of Accounts

According to the established custom the accounts were audited by a public accountant, the work being done by Ernest Reckitt & Company.

STATEMENT OF AUDIT

The following is the Auditor's statement:

DECEMBER 24, 1919

"Mr. SCOTT E. BEDFORD,

"Secretary, *The American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois*

"DEAR SIR: Acting upon your instructions we have made an audit of the records of your organization for the period from December 19, 1918, to December 17, 1919, and now hand you our report thereon, together with the following Schedules:

Schedule "A," Balance Sheet as at December 17, 1919.

Schedule "B," Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the period mentioned.

"These schedules are subject to brief comment, as embraced in the following paragraphs:

Cash Receipts

"We have verified the receipt of payments for dues from all members of the Society by comparing the total received as schedules on the Cash Receipts sheets, with the Register of Members, and found these records in agreement.

"A trial balance of the Members Receipts card file, which we verified by reference to the file itself, was also compared with the Membership Register, and the total number of payments on the Cash Receipts Sheets.

"We recommend the entry of the subscriber's payment in the Membership Register promptly on receipt of same.

"We traced the deposit of all funds schedules on the Cash Receipts Sheet, into the Bank, as verified by the Bank Statements.

Cash Disbursements

"We found canceled checks and proper vouchers on file, in support of all disbursements, and reconciled the cash balance as shown by your check book with the balance acknowledged by the Bank, as on the closing day of the period.

"A cash account should appear in your ledger. Cash Receipts should be entered in total from the Cash Sheets on to the Debit side of your Cash Book, and the monthly totals of Cash Receipts and Disbursements as shown by the Cash Book should be posted to their proper ledger account. Your present practice is to enter only Disbursements in the Cash Book, and neither Receipts nor Disbursements are summarized in the ledger, so that your ledger cannot schedule the balance of Cash on Hand.

"Your ledger does not reflect the true status of the financial affairs of the Society. It embraces a distribution of the Receipts and Disbursements during the period under review, but does not record any assets belonging to the organization, such as cash, bonds, and office equipment. A year ago showed the Society as owner of a bond of the Northwestern Electric Company, of the par value of \$500.00; your records do not establish the sale of this bond, and yet it does not appear anywhere on your records as remaining your property. The same conditions apply to the item of office equipment, which appeared on our 1918 Report.

"The Bond of the Northwestern Electric Company of \$500.00 was produced for our inspection, but on account of your absence from the city the coupon of \$30.00 due in the period under review could not be clipped or deposited until after the close of your fiscal year.

"Respectfully submitted,

"ERNEST RECKITT & Co.
"Certified Public Accountants"

Schedule "A"
AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 17, 1919

<i>Assets</i>	
Cash in Bank.....	\$ 837.53
NORTHWESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY	
6 per cent Gold Bond.....	500.00
OFFICE FURNITURE	
Remington Typewriter.....	\$ 60.00
Cabinet File.....	58.65
	118.65
Total assets.....	\$1,456.18
<i>Liabilities</i>	
Surplus, as at December 19, 1918.....	\$1,021.13
Add excess of income over expenditures for year ended	
December 17, 1919, as per Schedule "B".....	435.05
Total liabilities.....	\$1,456.18

Schedule "B"

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT SHOWING CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FROM
DECEMBER 20, 1918, TO DECEMBER 17, 1919, INCLUSIVE

Cash Receipts

Dues from members, 1919.....	\$2,523.30
Dues from members, 1920.....	744.00
Exchange included with remittance.....	15.74
Royalties on publications.....	<u>348.75</u>

\$3,631.79

Cash Disbursements

Publication expense of the <i>American Journal of Sociology</i>	\$1,091.91
Publication expense of Vol. XIII, <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1,101.98
Salaries, clerical and stenographic.....	390.73
Postage and express.....	200.21
• Printing.....	115.33
Stationery.....	102.69
Auditing.....	25.00
Office expense.....	27.02
Secretary's expense at annual meeting.....	99.58
Campaign for new members, expense.....	7.64
Insurance on <i>Papers and Proceedings</i>	1.60
Exchange on dues received.....	<u>33.05</u>

3,196.74Balance (excess of receipts over disbursements)..... \$ 435.05

Summary

Balance, cash in bank, December 19, 1918.....	\$ 402.48
Total receipts for period ended December 17, 1919, (as shown above).....	<u>3,631.79</u>
	<u>\$4,034.27</u>
Deduct total disbursements for period ended December 17, 1919 (as shown above).....	<u>3,196.74</u>
Balance, cash in bank, December 17, 1919.....	<u>\$ 837.53</u>

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Treasurer*

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR THE FISCAL
YEAR, DECEMBER 20, 1918, TO DECEMBER 19, 1919

Cost of Printing Volume XIII

The Treasurer's statement will show that the cost of printing an edition of thirteen hundred (1,300) copies of Volume XIII of the *Papers and Proceedings* was \$1,101.98.

Reprints to Discussers

The editor has made another effort this year to secure the manuscripts of papers for the annual meeting in order to get them into galley proof and to the discussers before the session at which the paper was to be presented. To the eighteen persons writing the papers letters were sent on November 10, asking for manuscripts. On December 26, out of the eighteen, twelve had sent in their copy.

"Papers and Proceedings" on Hand

On December 17, the number of the different volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand was as follows:

Vol. I.....	110	Vol. VIII.....	98
Vol. II.....	32	Vol. IX.....	61
Vol. III.....	39	Vol. X.....	218
Vol. IV.....	66	Vol. XI.....	15
Vol. V.....	62	Vol. XII.....	184
Vol. VI.....	24	Vol. XIII.....	131
Vol. VII.....	74		

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Managing Editor*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
DECEMBER 30, 1919

The meeting was called to order at 8:30 A.M. by President Blackmar, in Room 209, Hotel La Salle. The following were present: Professors Blackmar, Ross, Earp, Hayes, Dealey, Cooley, Cutler, North, and Bedford.

Moved and carried, that the minutes of the last meeting, because they had been published in the annual volume, be dispensed with but approved.

The annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor were read in part, approved and ordered filed.

Moved and carried that the salary of Mr. Bedford's assistant, Miss M. G. Miller, be \$200.00 for the year 1919; and that \$150.00 be established as the regular rate instead of \$100.00, but that \$25.00 be added to this amount for each quarter that the Secretary is absent from the University. If he be absent the Autumn Quarter, \$25.00 be added to the \$150.00; if absent both the Autumn and Winter quarters, then \$25.00 be added for each quarter, etc.

Moved and carried that the President determine the next place of meeting in conference with the proper authorities of the Economic Association.

Moved and carried that the Resolution of President Blackmar be adopted. It read: "*Resolved*, that the American Political Science Association be invited to hold its annual meetings at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society." The Secretary was instructed to inform the Association of this action.

Moved and carried that the Committee recommend to the annual meeting that our Society accept the invitation to membership in the conference of American Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies.

A letter from Professor F. S. Chapin was read and the following motion, suggested by the letter, was carried. "Moved, that the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, acting through its President, and in consultation with the executives of the other social science associations, appoint a joint committee to investigate and report upon a plan to provide indices of abstracts of periodical literature and books relating to the subject-matter of social science." It was understood that the Committee should consist of three persons and that the plan should be reported at the next annual meeting.

Professor North called attention to the desire of the Committee on Teaching of Sociology in the grade schools and high schools of the United States to have a joint committee with the American Economic Association. It was moved and carried that we approve the request for a joint committee, but that our Society maintain its separate Committee on Sociology in distinction from Economics, and that our Committee render separate reports.

The Committee then adjourned.

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, CHICAGO,
ILLINOIS, DECEMBER 31, 1919

The annual business meeting was called to order by President Blackmar at 12 o'clock noon, in the Red Room of Hotel La Salle, about seventy-five members being present.

The minutes of the last annual business meeting, because they had already been printed in the annual *Volume* were not read, but were approved and ordered filed.

The Secretary reported the recommendation of the Executive Committee to the effect that we join the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies. It was moved and carried that the meeting approve the recommendation, and that the President for 1920 be delegated to attend the first meeting with his expenses paid by the Society.

It was moved and carried that the annual reports of the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor be approved and ordered filed.

The report of the Committee on Teaching of Sociology in the grade and high schools was given by the chairman, Professor Ross L. Finney. It was moved and carried that the report be accepted and the Committee continued.

The report of the Committee on Standardization of Research, Professor J. L. Gillen, chairman, was made. It was moved and carried that the report be accepted, the Committee continued, and that it be empowered to add any new members it might need.

There was no report from the Committee on Statistics, Mr. Adriance, chairman. The Committee was discontinued.

The Committee on Resolutions, Professor Cooley, chairman, recommended a vote of thanks to the management of Hotel La Salle for its excellent service and courtesy in handling our annual meeting.

The Committee on Nominations named the following persons for the offices indicated for the year 1920:

President, James Q. Dealey; first vice-president, Edward C. Hayes; second vice-president, J. P. Lichtenberger; secretary-treasurer, Scott E. W. Bedford; new members of the executive committee, A. B. Wolfe, Susan Kingsbury.

Respectfully submitted,

E. A. Ross, *Chairman*.

A. W. SMALL

M. C. ELMER

Moved and carried that the Secretary be instructed to cast a ballot of the Society for the persons for the offices indicated.

Moved and carried that the new President appoint a Committee of Three to consider the advisability of issuing the *American Journal of Sociology* monthly instead of bimonthly, or of establishing a new sociology publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

SCOTT E. W. BEDFORD, *Secretary*

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I—NAME

This Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

The objects of this Society shall be the encouragement of sociological research and discussion and the promotion of intercourse between persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP

Any person may become a member of this Society upon payment of Three Dollars and may continue such by paying thereafter annually a fee of Three Dollars.

By a single payment of Fifty Dollars any person may become a life member of the Society.

Each member is entitled to a copy of the current publications of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS

The officers of this Society shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer—elected at each annual meeting—and an Executive Committee consisting of the officers above mentioned *ex officio*, together with six elected members whose terms of office shall be three years; except that of those chosen at the first election two shall serve for but one year and two for two years.

The offices of Secretary and of Treasurer may be filled by the same person.

ARTICLE V—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

All officers shall be elected only after nomination by a special committee of the Society appointed by the Executive Committee; except that the officers for the first year shall be nominated by a committee of three to be appointed by the chairman of the meeting at which this constitution is adopted.

All officers shall be elected by a majority vote of the members of the Society present at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI—DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President of the Society shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Executive Committee, and shall perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him. In his absence his duties shall devolve,

successively, upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary, and upon the Treasurer.

The Secretary shall keep the records of the Society, and perform such other duties as the Executive Committee may assign to him.

The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody of the funds of the Society, subject to the rules of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, shall call regular and special meetings of the Society, appropriate money, appoint committees and their chairmen, with suitable powers, and in general possess the governing power in the Society except as otherwise specifically provided in this constitution. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies in its membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual election.

Five members shall constitute a quorum of the Executive Committee, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions.

ARTICLE VII—RESOLUTIONS

All resolutions to which objection is made shall be referred to the Executive Committee for its approval before submission to the vote of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII—AMENDMENTS

Amendments to this constitution shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Society.

AMENDMENT I

(Adopted in 1914)

The Executive Committee shall appoint each year a Managing Editor for the annual volume of *Papers and Proceedings*. It shall be his duty to collect, edit, and arrange the material for the *Papers and Proceedings* of the annual meeting.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR THE YEAR 1920

Abbott, Edith, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Adams, James F., 151 Nagle Ave., New York, N.Y.
Adams, Samuel E., 205 Gaston St., E., Savannah, Ga.
Addams, Jane, Hull-House, 800 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
Albright, Leila R., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
Allaben, M. C., 710 156 5th Ave., New York, N.Y.
Allen, Ben Franklin, Unitarian Congregational Church, Hackensack, N.J.
Alling, Mortimer H., Box 1232, Providence, R.I.
Alter, Karl J., 2327 Cherry St., Toledo, Ohio
Amann, Dorothy, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
Anderson, Charles M., Route 1, Box 32, Brownstown, Ind.
Andrews, Helen H., 3224 N. Pennsylvania Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Andrews, John B., American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d St.,
New York, N.Y.
Angier, Roswell P., 140 Edgehill Rd., New Haven, Conn.
Anthony, Bert T., 567 W. 4th St., Hoisington, Kan.
Armstrong, Samuel Treat, Hilbourne Farms, Katonah, N.Y.
Arneill, Mrs. James R., 1055 Pennsylvania St., Denver, Colo.
Arnold, Victor P., 900 County Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Artman, J. M., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Arvold, A. G., Agricultural College, N.D.
Athey, Mrs. C. N., 100 S. Patterson Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
Austin, Charles Burgess, 419 W. 110th St., New York, N.Y.
Austin, Ralph C., 400 Woodruff Bldg., Joliet, Ill.
Avery, Samuel P., 61 Woodland St., Hartford, Conn.
Babcock, Donald C., Durham, N.H.
Babson, Roger W., 67 Wellesley Ave., Wellesley, Mass.
Badanes, Saul, 547 Hancock St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Baker, Herbert M., Box 727, Greeley, Colo.
Baker, O. E., 1 Hesketh St., Chevy Chase, Md.
Balch, Emily G., 19 Bd. Georges Favou, Geneva, Switzerland
Balch, William M., 610 N. 6th St., Baldwin City, Kan.
Baldwin, Simeon W., New Haven, Conn.
Ballard, Lloyd Verner, 915 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis.
Ballhorn, G. C., 302 N. Frances, Madison, Wis.
Bancroft, F. E., 39 S. 4th Ave., Brighton, Colo.
Banks, Charles E., 2018 Prairie Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Barnes, Harry E., 465 W. 23d St., New York, N.Y.
Barnes, Mrs. Margaret Fitz, Judge Baker Foundation, 40 Court St., Boston,
Mass.
Bassett, Lucy A., 123 E. Seneca St., Ithaca, N.Y.
Batten, S. Z., 1701 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Baumann, LeRoy E., 2635 Sedgwick Ave., New York, N.Y.
Baumgartel, Walter H., 210 E. Roberts St., Crookston, Minn.
Bazer, J. F., 1014 E. 61st St., Chicago, Ill.
Beach, Walter G., State College, Pullman, Wash.

Beard, Jessie L., Post Graduate Hospital, 20th St., and 2d Ave., New York, N.Y.

Bedford, Scott E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Belcher, Alice E., Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis.

Belknap, B. H., Superintendent of Schools, Grand Marais, Mich.

Beller, William F., 51 E. 123d St., New York, N.Y.

Bengtson, Caroline, 1201 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.

Bennett, Victor W., 259 Newbury St., Boston, Mass.

Berger, Victor L., 980 1st St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Berger, W. H., 2 W. 45th St., New York, N.Y.

Bernard, L. L., 608 7th St., S.E., Minneapolis, Minn.

Berolzheimer, Ruth, Jewish Home Finding Society of Chicago, 1800 Selden St., Administration Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Bessey, John M., 61 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

Best, Harry, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

Bettman, Alfred, 1514 First National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio

Bever, James, 614 Ivy St., Bellingham, Wash.

Beyle, Herman C., Denison University, Granville, Ohio

Bidgood, Lee, P.O. Box 416, University, Ala.

Bigelow, Karl W., 21 Maywood St., Worcester, Mass.

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Report of the Committee on the Standardization of Research of the American Sociological Society.

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